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Inside: B. R. Sen, Director General FAO,
on 'Free the World from Hunger' Year,
and Olwen Battersby on the problems
of want and the struggle against it

War on Want

DEEDS NOT

WORDS

AN EDITORIAL

EISENHOWER:

*Every gun that is made, every war-
ship launched, every rocket fired
signifies, in the final sense, a theft
from those who hunger and are not
fed, those who are cold and are not
clothed. This world in arms is not
spending money alone. It is spending
the sweat of its labourers, the genius
of its scientists, the hopes of its
children.*

April 16, 1953.

KHRUSHCHEV:

A priceless fund of human energy.

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The question they pose is: what can be done about the situation? Both Khrushchev and Eisenhower have a genius for occasionally making statements which tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Their talents for converting these statements into action have been less in evidence.

Probably the biggest obstacle to large-scale national and international action is still lack of information. Many

simply because it is morally right. If this conclusion was correct, catastrophe would be inevitable, since no democratic government could undertake policies which violate the interests of the people it represents. But I can see no reason for Mr. Strachey's despairing reliance on purely moral imperative. Surely there is every reason of enlightened self-interest for bridging the gap in living standards as soon as possible."

One can see two stereotypes in Mr. Crossman's remarks. One is the realist politician who can think only in terms of the people's present interests and never in terms of changing them. And the other is the protestant moralist who insists on moral imperatives without ever relating them to the world he lives in.

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April 16, 1953.

KHRUSHCHEV:

A priceless fund of human energy, knowledge, ingenuity and skill is thrown as into a bottomless pit, squandered on growing armaments . . . We need peace . . . We would like to devote all our economy and resources to peaceful purposes in order to provide our people with an abundance of food, clothing, homes, etc.

United Nations, September 18, 1959.

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Probably the biggest obstacle to large-scale national and international action is still lack of information. Many people in Britain still do not know the simple facts about the distribution of the world's wealth. The notion that they are part of a privileged class in relation to the great majority of people would seem to them merely laughable.

The "War on Want" exhibition, which opens at the Central Hall, Westminster, to-morrow (Saturday) will have performed an important function if it encourages people to make the facts of world poverty and wealth more widely known.

Relevance

But before people are prepared to accept and act on information, they want to know something about its relevance and importance. This was the problem that Mr. R. H. S. Crossman posed, though in rather different terms, in his review of Mr. John Strachey's book on imperialism:

"He rightly stresses that the Western democracies must exert themselves to raise the living standards of the under-developed territories. But then he goes on to argue that, in terms of enlightened self-interest there is no case for large-scale aid of this kind: we must do it

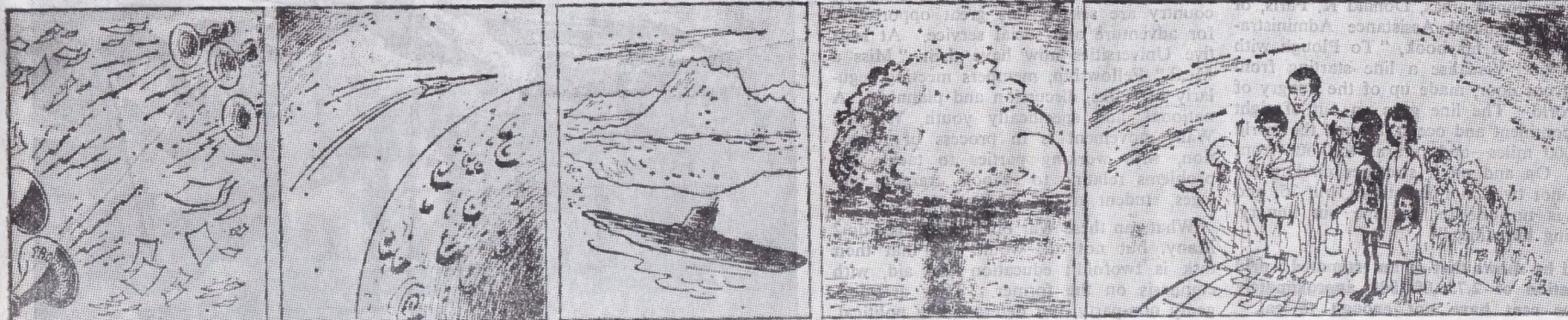
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Stereotypes

It is important to insist that these are stereotypes. Morality should not only be conceived in terms of abstract moral imperatives. Moral acts are creative acts. The whole war on want movement demonstrates this. In no other field of activity in the years since the war has there been so much room for creative action; one has only to look, for instance, at the record of the UN specialised agencies to see this. You could, of course, call this "enlightened self-interest" if you wanted to.

It is because of this that we insist on the morality of the war on want. We do not want to see people starving, sick, uneducated. But in tackling these problems we are giving doctors, teachers, scientists and administrators work which is worth their talents. And we are formulating a purpose for a society which is at present killing itself for the lack of any sane purpose. Against present values in our society we are posing not abstract morality but better, more exciting, values. We hope that this week's exhibition will be the first step to establishing these values.



"There are . . . still insufficient means for . . .

aid to . . . under-developed countries!"

Behrendt in Algemeen Handelsblad, Amsterdam

A WAR WORTH WAGING

Against worldwide poverty and starvation

By **OLWEN BATTERSBY**

On December 10, 1948, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of UN.

On December 11, 1948, UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) was established.

Today, Friday, January 15, 1960, "Freedom from Want," most fundamental of all Human Rights, and first of President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms," is still denied to "one billion, seven hundred million" people (President Eisenhower's Television Broadcast); including nine hundred million children (UNICEF figure).

"I AM amazed that we dare to call it (Declaration of Human Rights) 'universal' when we know that there is not one man out of every two who is even able to read it," wrote UNESCO Director General Jaime Terres Boder recently.

The under-developed, or "hungry" countries of the world are the countries which comprise Asia (except USSR and Japan), Africa (except South Africa), and Latin America (except Argentina, Uruguay and possibly Cuba and Venezuela).

Their poverty has to be seen to be realised—the unbelievable poverty where man, poor in science and ignorant of technical skills, with no protection against the most horrible form of disease, lives with his family and his animals (if he is lucky enough to possess animals) on the floor of his wooden or bamboo hut, with no prospect of future change.

Here, as the rich of the world grow richer, he grows poorer—for the gap between the richer and the poorer countries widens yearly. Millions have "never had it so bad."

The total of the British Government's aid to these hungry countries in 1958-59 amounted to one half of one per cent of the gross national produce. (Reply to Mr. Grimond, Hansard, Nov., 1959.) We give to UNICEF only 1d. per head of population (in Australia it is 5d.; in New Zealand 10d.) and spend £1 on arms for every halfpenny given. We are not proud of our record!

highways, railways and equipment, housing, schools, hospitals—are the task of governments, then governments must be inspired to act. This is their ultimate aim. It is their conviction that where the people lead, the government will follow. They seek not to preach peace, but to build it.

The holding of a public library exhibition, together with meeting or film show; the organisation of an inter-school essay competition in co-operation with the educational authorities (the group providing adjudicators, title of essay, and prizes); the organisation of a panel of press correspondents and speakers for fireside meetings; the sponsoring of UNESCO gift coupon



The unbelievable poverty where man lives with no protection against the most horrible diseases. Photos: Onslaught

The immensity of the task which confronts them has inspired the War on Want Movement.

This is a loosely-knit association of autonomous groups arising from the creation of the "Association for World Peace" in 1951 by Sir Richard Acland, Victor Gollancz, William Gladstone, and Harold Wilson.

scheme; the selling of UNESCO and UNICEF Christmas cards; carol singing: these are some of the ways by which the message is spread.

For it is a heroic story which they have to tell—the story of the Missionary and Quaker teams, World Health Organisation,

work of the United Nations Children's Fund in Burma, Hong Kong, India, Korea, Japan and Thailand. Writing in the UNESCO "Courier" on his return he said: "I've seen a little Siamese boy, whose skin was almost covered by infectious yaws, cleaned up in three weeks with one shot of penicillin; I've seen Korean kids drinking milk who'd never seen milk before. I've seen some unpleasant things, too, like Moroccan children disregarding the cluster of flies on their faces, not because they were lazy, but because to brush them off would do no good—the flies would only come back."

Target: A million

Some of the UNICEF supporting groups have chosen a limited target: "1,000,000 pennies to protect 1,000,000 children against tuberculosis," or "5,000 sixpences to cure 5,000 children of yaws," a crippling tropical disease. Others in donating have indicated the use to which the money must be put: 5s. for a daily glass of milk to 66 children for a week, or £8 to equip a village midwife with a modern maternity kit.

Groups may also become "Partners in Development" with the Food and Agriculture Organisation, earmarking their subscriptions for seeds, fishing equipment, books, films, school feeding equipment or garden tools; donating anything from £550 for a tractor to 10s. for a hay-rake.

'Person to person'

But "direct aid" or the "person to person" project, enabling the small community to raise itself from its poverty, has caught the imagination of the older groups. Some, seeking Vinoba's "Kingdom of Kindness" have thrown their weight behind the Bhodan movement of India, "adopting" a particular well (i.e., providing tools and equipment where Bhodan workers are already organised in voluntary work squads), helping in the development of village amenities, maintaining friendly contact with the developing community.

A second project assisted by groups is the "Blind Farmers Training Scheme," enabling at least some of the 65,000 to 70,000 blind persons of Kenya to receive a year's training and to return to take their place on the family farm. A third in Egypt is

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People have acted

Nevertheless, the people have acted. Quietly, almost unnoticed, throughout Great Britain there have arisen, and are still rising, groups who see this problem not in terms of mind-deadening statistics, but in terms of people.

They know the size of the problem: three-fifths of the world's population, whose yearly income per head, so far as it can be measured, rarely exceeds £50 and is sometimes as low as £10.

They know that shortage of food gives rise to mass diseases—malaria, which affects roughly 300,000,000 and kills 3,000,000 each year; biharziasis, from which half of Egypt's 21,000,000 suffer; yaws, hookworm, tuberculosis, trachoma and the venereal and gastro-intestinal diseases. They know also that the growth of population today—one and a quarter per cent—is five times as large as in the seventeenth century.

In his startling survey of the plight of the under-developed areas, Donald K. Faris, of the UN Technical Assistance Administration, writes in his book, "To Plough with Hope": "Visualise a line starting from your front door, made up of the hungry of the world. The line goes on out of sight over continent and ocean, around the world—25,000 miles—and returns to your front door. On and on it stretches circling the globe not twice nor five times, but 25, and there is no one in the line but hungry, suffering humanity."

And he shows that of an estimated world population of 2,750,000,000 approximately 60 per cent have not enough to eat.

*Gollancz. 1958. 21s.

The unbelievable poverty where man lives with no protection against the most horrible diseases.

Photos: Onslaught

The immensity of the task which confronts them has inspired the War on Want Movement.

This is a loosely-knit association of autonomous groups arising from the creation of the "Association for World Peace" in 1951 by Sir Richard Acland, Victor Gollancz, William Clark and Harold Wilson. Some co-operate with the War on Want Trust and, although they have no central organisation they are linked in a Federation, with a "Sheffield Committee" empowered to call a "National Convention" at the request of the groups. The fourth National Convention took place in Sheffield in November, 1959.

In London, still carrying on its work, is the "War on Want Trust," pouring out help in the way of posters, literature and initial expenditure for the creation of new groups (having assisted over 100 groups in little over two years), and organising publicity on a scale never attempted before. The movement has 460 associate groups in churches, offices and factories. It has become registered as a "charity," and supporters wishing to make a regular subscription to their local group may covenant it through the Trust (and so avoid deduction of income tax).

Youth's opportunity

As was to be expected, the youth of this country are seizing this great opportunity for adventure and social service. At least five Universities now have their "Miss a Meal" Fellowship, members meeting regularly for talks, discussion and planning. A national, and specifically youth, War on Want movement is in process of formation, with working parties to tackle the problems relating to schools, training colleges, student groups, and so on.

What can these War on Want groups do? Many, but not all, would say that their task is twofold: education and aid, with emphasis on the former. They are doggedly non-party, but determinedly political. If the vast engineering undertakings—dams, land reclamation, forest conservation, dock,

scheme; the selling of UNESCO and UNICEF Christmas cards; carol singing: these are some of the ways by which the message is spread.

For it is a heroic story which they have to tell—the story of the Missionary and Quaker teams, World Health Organisation, of UNESCO, Technical Assistance, UNICEF, International Voluntary Service, Work Camps Movement, Save the Children Fund, the Friends Service Council, Inter-Church Aid, Oxford Famine Relief—the story of the crossing of barriers and the linking of hands on behalf of the hungry, the sick, the ignorant and the humiliated.

"A mature man is one who can think two generations ahead," said a Director of the World Health Organisation. It is perhaps not surprising that the rights of 900,000,000 children should be the first concern of many groups. For this Danny Kaye must take some responsibility.

"Assignment Children" took Danny Kaye to the Far East in 1954 to film the

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A second project assisted by groups is the "Blind Farmers Training Scheme," enabling at least some of the 65,000 to 70,000 blind persons of Kenya to receive a year's training and to return to take their place on the family farm. A third in Equatoria, Sudan, where farming is at a mere subsistence level, trains boys of 16 and 17 not only in basic food production and cattle keeping, but also in bee keeping, fruit growing, coffee growing, and poultry rearing. There are many more. "In all eight projects in India, Afghanistan and Africa are supported by students," wrote the Cambridge University group early in 1959.

"Last term we raised £540; the next term's target is £1,000."

Already an awareness of the "person to person" project is spreading the world. To the North London Action Council for War on Want (of which the writer is a founder member) come appeals for help; from the

● ON PAGE THREE



Often the problem is not just hunger—but where to live.

-adventure for the 1960s

● FROM PAGE TWO

Samaritan Club, Nablus, Jordan, for example, a small religious community of 330 persons including 70 children, now "on the brink of starvation"; from the Bikaner Social Club, India, appealing in particular for teachers for their "Psychological Education Centre," and for the loan (or gift) of sewing machines; from Samaria, the village near which is the North London's own "adopted" well; and the village of Palampur, India, which the Council hope to adopt as their next venture.

There is a story in every letter.

A glimpse ahead

What of the future of these War on Want groups? Are they to remain mere drops in the ocean? Who can tell? Plans are afoot, "Human Partnership" plans, to enable towns, villages and cities in Britain and the Western countries to adopt towns, villages and areas in such under-developed countries as India, Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, or a refugee camp in Germany, Austria or Jordan. On a penny a week basis it is urged that a town of 100,000 people could contribute £1,600 in a month, or nearly £20,000 in a year. Firms, offices, shops and cinemas, all might play their part.

President Eisenhower has expressed his concern for the peoples of the under-developed countries: "They are just going to have an explosion if we do not heed them"; Mr. Khrushchev has called for "an end to the brandishing of arms." "The 500 men who control most of the world's money," says The Observer, Oct. 4, 1959, "The World Bank and International Monetary Fund, have been meeting to discuss poverty and starvation."

What does all this add up to? Could it mean that the £40,000,000,000 now spent on arms by the nations (in 1918 the nations were spending only £500,000,000) could be diverted to the means of human salvation instead of destruction? It could mean just that!

Know-how is there

Science today can bring water to the desert, heat the Arctic Circle, produce food from the uninhabited areas and waste lands of the world. The discovery of new sources of power—power from water, power from the sun, power from the transmission of the great winds of Antarctica—can change the economic geography of the world, and bring abundance and health where now is only poverty and disease.

Addressing some 2,000 "Citizens of To-

Youth measures up to the problem—the voluntary work camp movement has long been active building new hope for many with its selfless service.

tomorrow" at a conference on "Man Against Poverty" at the Central Hall, Westminster, Mr. J. H. Anderson, Director Eastern Province Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, concluded: "We have reached the point

where success is certain; we have the living facts; abundance can be created if enough men want it."

And here perhaps lies the crux of the problem: "If enough men want it."

Today's research for tomorrow's problems

By N. W. Pirie FRS

The writer has been head of the Biochemistry Department of Rothampstead Experimental Station since 1947. He is a younger son of the late Sir George Pirie, the painter.

A LITTLE hunger is necessary for a good appetite; few people in Britain know more hunger than that. Thirty years ago this was not so here and it is not so now in much of the world. Figures published by the Food and Agriculture Organisation show that the population of the world is increasing and more than half of the present population gets too little to eat. People used to accept that as a normal state of affairs; we no longer do so in Britain and people elsewhere, as they find out how well some parts of the world are

Well over half of today's research, measured in cost or in the numbers engaged, is devoted to war. That is obviously of little general value and its cessation would give us ample resources to start the programme of adequate nutrition for all. Vast sums are now being spent on silly projects like space exploration that put a scientific veneer on a basically military objective. One thing may justify wasting the resources of a hungry world on jaunts into space—success in this field gives prestige without actual military engagement. In the pompous and ill-mannered world of international politics it is pleasant to see that rocket launching now plays as important a part as the threatening deployment of armies. There is, in bird song, a sound

their ways need careful study. Thus it is sometimes said that, rather than giving seed away, it is best to grow the improved type in not too well fenced plots and let the seed be stolen!

Finding the ideal

Similar considerations arise with the other aspects of food getting. It is useless to advocate the use of fertilisers on the scale we think reasonable; the world could not produce them now and will not be able to for a decade at least. It is useless to advocate a great extension of fish farming till we know more about the best types of fish, or the keeping of domestic animals while our thoughts are restricted to the



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The simple answer is that there is not enough food. This surprises many who have read of farmers cutting down production because of unsold surpluses and who conclude that, in a rational and humane world, the surplus would be sent to the places of need and all would be well. Naturally we all long for such a world and welcome the enterprise of such organisations as UNICEF in distributing part of the surplus. But the biggest single surplus of human food is 24,000,000 tons of wheat in the USA (1958 figures); if that were distributed among the 2,000,000,000 people in need it would allow each of them to have a little less than a pound a day (i.e., a small loaf) for a month. That would be a useful contribution but hardly a final solution.

The easiest way?

On paper, the easiest way to meet the world's food needs would be to intensify farming in already prosperous countries such as USSR and USA and ship the product to the place of need. Not only would this involve a formidable amount of shipping but it would deepen the existing divi-

sion of the world into parts more or less dependent on the giant powers. It would thus lessen hunger but not make peace any more secure. The alternative is to help each community to stand on its own feet and develop its resources so that it produces its own basic necessities of life. The food is needed where the mouths are. It is only when that has been achieved that countries will become genuinely independent.

Large or small?

This is the background against which national and international research projects should be examined. More production is most needed in primitive villages and the producers, for a generation at any rate, will be relatively unsophisticated people. How much use to them is the research we are doing? Not much. We tend to think that the methods of farming we use are the best and that they will in the end be adopted everywhere else. They may not be. Our methods are no doubt excellent for the temperate regions where they were developed but the need for food is predominantly in the tropics. Furthermore, we tend to think that large units are better than small.

We may well be right when there is a shortage of educated, intelligent and independent-minded people. But if the world is to be a peaceful and tolerable place to live in, education must become universal and it will then tap the at present unused resources of human ability. Smaller and more diversified units may then not only be more efficient but also more satisfying to work in.

Well over half of today's research, measured in cost or in the numbers engaged, is devoted to war. That is obviously of little general value and its cessation would give us ample resources to start the programme of adequate nutrition for all. Vast sums are now being spent on silly projects like space exploration that put a scientific veneer on a basically military objective. One thing may justify wasting the resources of a hungry world on jaunts into space—success in this field gives prestige without actual military engagement. In the pompous and ill-mannered world of international politics it is pleasant to see that rocket launching now plays as important a part as the threatening deployment of armies. There is, in bird song, a sound biological analogy for this; the robin also maintains its territory simply by ostentatious singing without any unseemly brawling. So we should not condemn astronautics completely.

Much of the rest of our research is equally criticisable and, for as long as we are short of scientists, could usefully be curtailed. Caution is needed however because a little adjustment could make the existing structure useful. Thus work on patent medicines and packaged food is often wasteful, but it is difficult to draw sharp lines between work on these subjects and basic work on contraception and food preservation. In a rational world these two lines of work will be prominent, for they offer amenities that the human race is unlikely to wish to do without.

Seeing is believing

If the resources now squandered on foolish or pernicious research were available for tackling problems of tomorrow, how would they be used to improve the general condition of mankind and especially for ensuring an adequate food supply? First of all by demonstrating improved methods of farming, fish culture and so on, on the widest possible scale. People believe what they see happening and have an excusable scepticism about official exhortation. People in under-developed regions know the difficulties of farming there; they lack many things but not experience.

Some of our crops may be adapted to the new environment and we could almost certainly develop better varieties of local crops; each must be tested and demonstrated where it is to be grown. Even when the new varieties are obviously better it is not always easy to get them adopted. Other people are as conservative as we are and

their ways need careful study. Thus it is sometimes said that, rather than giving seed away, it is best to grow the improved type in not too well fenced plots and let the seed be stolen!

Finding the ideal

Similar considerations arise with the other aspects of food getting. It is useless to advocate the use of fertilisers on the scale we think reasonable; the world could not produce them now and will not be able to for a decade at least. It is useless to advocate a great extension of fish farming till we know more about the best types of fish, or the keeping of domestic animals while our thoughts are restricted to the animals of Western Europe.

There is need for a vast research project, embracing every branch of biology, to see what the ideal forms of food production in each region are, and an equally vast social and psychological study to see how the results of that research should be presented to those who would make use of it. Until these things have been done in a thorough and sympathetic manner the world is likely to remain divided and most of it will remain hungry.

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Prison rigours

NORMALLY there is an element of pleasure in writing this Commentary. It makes it possible for the commentator to let himself go about peace-endangering facts and trends conveniently disregarded or carelessly forgotten by the believers in power politics. This time, any pleasure of that kind is far outweighed by the thought that Allen Skinner, who should be writing the Commentary this week, is in prison.

Neither he nor the other five members of the Direct Action Committee who, like him, refused to give the pledge which would have allowed them to keep their physical freedom at the cost of their liberty to act in accordance with their consciences, can be insensitive to the unpleasantness of confinement and the rigours of prison life. Yet, within themselves, they may be happy.

I am reminded of a striking pronouncement on that subject in one (the third) of Count Coudenhove Calergi's books on philosophy. Happiness, he says, is never attained by striving for it directly or consciously. It is the by-product of striving towards perfection and for the realisation of a great aim. Of that, for a certainty, the imprisoned men and women can be conscious.

Let us leave it at that as far as their personalities are concerned. But the question of the campaign they have initiated is another matter. It may fizzle out or it may become a world-wide movement of positively revolutionary character, of the masses' common sense against their government's unwillingness to face the facts of the mid-twentieth century.

National governments

IT is far too early to tell which way it will go. The wonderful amiability of the police at Harrington on Saturday, January 2, and the friendliness of the prosecution proceedings on the following Wednesday, when the 82 men and women who had demonstrated at the Thor rocket base were given a conditional discharge without having given an undertaking to refrain from further demonstrations, must not be expected to remain proof against the corroding effects of repetitive annoyance. And the discharge, it must be remembered, was conditional, not absolute.

Comparison is sometimes made between the Direct Action campaign and the suffragette movement, which finally secured the women's vote. The comparison is futile. No question of the country's survival was involved in whether women had the vote or not, nor was the issue affected by Britain's relations with other countries or by her economy. Nothing bigger was at stake than the surrender of outworn ideas and prejudices. Today, too, outworn ideas and prejudices are involved, but whereas in the case of the suffragette movement they stood for nothing more than stupidity, today they stand for blindness to the prospect of world suicide.

Mr. Khrushchev has once again found the way to appeal to people's mood. He has said that if a world referendum were held on the question of abolishing all nuclear weapons there would be a vast majority vote for abolition.

COMMENTARY

By

Roy Sherwood

impossible to avoid the conclusion that the existence of national governments is the curse of our time.

Anti-semitism

THE daubing of anti-semitic and neo-fascist slogans has spread since last week. From England alone I have collected a list, necessarily incomplete, of 22 towns from which this hate outburst has been reported within a few days. Abroad the same thing has happened in countries as far apart as Roumania and Austria, Canada, Argentina and all over the United States.

Two of the German speakers on the subject in the BBC link-up on Thursday last week seemed half-inclined to the belief, reported by the Bonn correspondent of The Times as also "apparently being busily fostered abroad" by the Federal Republic's Embassies, that the whole of this latest wave of anti-semitism "is a plot to discredit the Federal Government," the implication being that of a plot instigated and directed from outside, presumably East Germany.

Nothing in political intrigue is too fantastic to be rejected out of hand, but this explanation is not likely to "stand the wash." The Bonn Government's record is clean on the question of anti-semitism—which has lost political importance, anyway, now that there are only 30,000 or at most 40,000 Jews left in Western Germany.

It would be a very stupid schemer therefore who would make anything related to the Jews the focal point of his attack against a régime that is thoroughly vulnerable on another point—its tolerance of and for "ex"-Nazis, aggravated by its tendency to encourage another installment of almost single-person authority in government. That there is no real basis of democratic tradition in Germany certainly explains this, but it also makes it all the less likely that an external enemy of the Bonn Government should cherish hopes of finding in anti-semitic daubings an efficient means of discrediting it.

No one trying to inflict damage at an enemy deliberately attacks him where his defence is ready made. In so far as the German recrudescence of anti-semitism needs explanation, it is simple and straightforward: it is a nostalgic return—admittedly and fortunately by only a minority—to the "glories and triumphs" of the Hitler days; and the truly tragic element in the possibility of such a return lies in the fact that because the Germans have no deep-rooted democratic tradition they feel no personal responsibility for the concentration and extermination camps.

build-up of nuclear weapon launching sites without at least forcing the issue to the test of a General Election?

Streak of cruelty

WHEN we come to consider the outbursts of anti-semitism in Britain and other countries outside Germany the explanation, to my mind, lies in the same simple unpleasant fact of human nature which first accounted for it also in the case of the Germans. There is a streak of cruelty in all of us, but only an exceptional Iago glories in it.

In most of us it gets buried well below the surface as we grow up, which does not mean that it has been eradicated. It finds expression in hating someone or something and thus manages in nine cases out of ten to disguise itself as justice or virtue. The disguise would be impossible if the hatred were generalised, lacking a specific object or individual—or group of individuals.

Foreign countries are good focal points for such hatreds and "foreign" groups within a country are even better. Today this constant hostility factor to Jews is strengthened by our time's noticeable growth of intolerance, coinciding with an as yet formless discontent with the effects of the policies of our leaders all over the Western countries. In the uncertainty whom to blame for their frustration, and furiously wanting to blame someone—well there is always the traditional scapegoat, the Eternal Jew, for the more mutinous of our young people.

Indonesia and China

THE relations between Indonesia and China are now so bad that only the use of diplomatic language makes it possible any longer to call them friendly. The fundamental reason is that Indonesia, in execution of her semi-socialist and more than semi-anti-foreign policy some time ago passed a regulation compelling Chinese traders in the villages to move into the towns, where they could be registered and their business transactions supervised.

Since then there has been acrimonious correspondence between Peking and Jakarta, the latest development in which has been a letter by Dr. Subandrio, the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister, which widens the field of disagreement by stating that China's policy seems to him detrimental to all the uncommitted nations.

In this, he is probably not alone among his colleagues of these countries. But it is undeniable that the very hard-working small Chinese traders disseminated all over hundreds of Indonesian islands are deserving of sympathy and better treatment than they are likely to get in view of Jakarta's wish to see them returning to China—with little prospect of compensation for the loss of their businesses.

Already more or less cast for the rôle of peace-maker between China and India, Mr. Khrushchev had thus better get himself ready to act in the same rôle between China and Indonesia.

Bombs from France

THE arrival in Britain of the US Air Force Super Sabre fighter-bombers, capable of carrying nuclear bombs, makes the country more than before a front line target in any war between the West and Russia. Even people

And the discharge, it must be remembered, was conditional, not absolute.

Comparison is sometimes made between the Direct Action campaign and the suffragette movement, which finally secured the women's vote. The comparison is futile. No question of the country's survival was involved in whether women had the vote or not, nor was the issue affected by Britain's relations with other countries or by her economy. Nothing bigger was at stake than the surrender of outworn ideas and prejudices. Today, too, outworn ideas and prejudices are involved, but whereas in the case of the suffragette movement they stood for nothing more than stupidity, today they stand for blindness to the prospect of world suicide.

Mr. Khrushchev has once again found the way to appeal to people's mood. He has said that if a world referendum were held on the question of abolishing all nuclear weapons there would be a vast majority vote for abolition. Few will find it possible to disagree with that—but how blatantly it shows up the difference between what the masses of the world want and what the various forms of democracy represent them as wanting. If you pursue such thoughts to their logical end it becomes

ment of almost single-person authority in government. That there is no real basis of democratic tradition in Germany certainly explains this, but it also makes it all the less likely that an external enemy of the Bonn Government should cherish hopes of finding in anti-semitic daubings an efficient means of discrediting it.

No one trying to inflict damage at an enemy deliberately attacks him where his defence is ready made. In so far as the German recrudescence of anti-semitism needs explanation, it is simple and straightforward: it is a nostalgic return—admittedly and fortunately by only a minority—to the “glories and triumphs” of the Hitler days; and the truly tragic element in the possibility of such a return lies in the fact that *because the Germans have no deep-rooted democratic tradition they feel no personal responsibility for the concentration and extermination camps.*

This brings us back to Allen Skinner, Hugh Brock and the other imprisoned members of the Direct Action Committee and to the self-query their imprisonment should cause us to face: Are we, the general public in Britain, living up to our democratic responsibility in allowing the

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Bombs from France

THE arrival in Britain of the US Air Force Super Sabre fighter-bombers, capable of carrying nuclear bombs, makes the country more than before a front line target in any war between the West and Russia. Even people who do not share the views of pacifists or of abolitionists of nuclear weapons must feel displeased that President de Gaulle could so impose his will on the NATO leaders—not on pacifist grounds but on those of sheer self-assertion.

High seas closed

RUSSIA proposes to carry out tests in the central Pacific between today and February 15 with a powerful new rocket designed to undertake space flights to planets of the solar system.

This was announced by Tass in Moscow on January 7.

The Russian Government called on other Governments to instruct ships and aircraft not to enter the specified Pacific area.

Gaitskell explains

MR. GAITSKELL said last week that many people had mistaken ideas about Left-wing Parties such as his.

Speaking in Pennsylvania during his brief American tour, the Labour leader explained that pacifists were in a minority and that the international working-class movement had long since been discarded.

Associated Press reported this lecture on January 7 from Swarthmore College—the Quaker College.

Boycott cricket tour

THE Rev. Nicolas Stacey, Birmingham diocesan chaplain and a sprinter in the 1952 Olympics, has called for a boycott of next summer's

matches in England against South Africa.

He hopes the South African cricket tour will be boycotted by spectators and players alike as a protest against apartheid in sport.

He said on January 7 that he would prefer the tour to be cancelled, “but failing that a boycott is the next best thing.”

Nigeria's press

DESTRUCTIVE criticism in Nigerian newspapers will “not be tolerated.”

The Federal Information Minister, Mr. Theophilus Benson, said this is Lagos at his first news conference on January 2.

He would not hesitate, he said, “if any of the press should indulge in destructive criticisms to recommend to the Government that appropriate disciplinary action be taken against such a press.”

The following day the press described this as a “threat.” The Times Lagos correspondent reported.

Indo-Pakistan accord

ALL Indo-Pakistan disputes about the Western Border have been

amicably resolved at talks in New Delhi which ended on Sunday.

Lt-Gen. K. M. Sheikh, leader of the Pakistan delegation, said on Monday that there were no longer any obstacles in the way of a meeting between Mr. Nehru and President Ayub Khan.

This accord has been widely interpreted as due to common fears of China.

No South African products will be handled by the 20,000 members of the Cyprus Workers' Confederation for the month starting on February 20, their secretary-general said on January 9.

Seven hotels in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, refused accommodation to Mr. S. K. Gupta, manager of one of the biggest woollen mills in India, Reuter reported from Salisbury on January 5.

The Halibut, an atomic-powered submarine capable of firing the Regulus guided missile, has been commissioned in Vallejo, California. The Times reported on January 7.

President de Gaulle will arrive in Washington on April 22 for a three-day state visit, the White House announced on January 6.

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Algiers newspapers were censored last Saturday for the first time since the war started in 1954. Censorship was ordered by General Maurice Challe, Commander-in-Chief of French armed forces in Algeria.

The US Supreme Court has been asked to set aside its December 14 ruling refusing another rehearing of the case of Caryl Chessman, on the grounds that the court did not explain its reason for the denial.

PEACE NEWS

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By Sybil Morrison

FIDDLING WHILE . . .

The American Institute of Decorators are showing in Chicago "The Family Room of Tomorrow" . . . it conforms with the specifications of the Office of Civil Defence Mobilisation . . . it is panelled in walnut and could be used as a games room until the war starts.—The Observer, January, 10, 1960.

AIR RAID precautions before, and during, the Second World War consisted mainly of helping people to believe that safety from flying shrapnel, high explosive blast, or fire could be achieved by either training in methods of fire extinguishing, or by using shelters in gardens, or under tables.

Most of the precautions were useless in face of concentrated raids on cities, though great courage and fortitude were displayed by both trained or untrained people in succouring and saving those who survived.

In a nuclear war the possibility of survival is unlikely, yet in the United States a room, as described in this week's Observer, is seriously planned, and it is stated that the Office of Civil Defence Mobilisation is trying to persuade householders to construct such "shelters" on their property.

Mr. Duncan Sandys in 1957 issued a White Paper on Defence in which it was categorically stated that: "It must be frankly recognised that there is no means of providing adequate protection for the people in this country against the consequences of attack by nuclear weapons," and it then went on to enumerate a number of means of protection which, it could only be assumed in the light of his own statement, were totally inadequate.



The truth is that Civil Defence in Britain, and Civil Defense Mobilisation in the USA, are based upon an attempt to create an atmosphere of security where there is none, and are thereby concerned with conditioning the mind of the public to the idea of a

People and places

SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

SIGNS of the coming upheavals in Poland and Hungary could clearly be seen in the poems, stories and films that were appearing in those countries in 1954-5. And it is not surprising that when the upheavals finally came in 1956 many artists were among the leaders of the revolution.

It pays to look closely at the kind of art that is being produced in a country; it often gives you clues about social change that you could find nowhere else. For this reason alone the long story by a young Soviet writer which was recently published in Encounter is of great interest. In the story we are a long way from the inhuman orthodoxies of social realism. There are no gallant workers and criminal reactionaries in this story (though there are some in the imagination of some of the characters).

Let me quote some passages from the story to show just what a revolutionary piece of work it is. This is the description of the dream of two secret policemen:

"In our age the age of television and radar, the epoch of atomic energy applied for peaceful purposes, it would be excellent to have a cycoscope in every district. Say, for example, that I'm a harmful element and I'm sitting in my under-populated flat, knowing in advance that every one of my ideologically negative thoughts, each and every criminal plan I make, is projected on a screen at the District Psycho-scope centre, just like at the cinema! I try, of course, to think of nothing. I see to it that all my thoughts are innocent—about drink, or women, or even about how to work for the good of the people. But all the time I'm simply itching with criminal thoughts. I turn and twist in my chair, I do problems in arithmetic to keep my mind busy.

"Nothing doing! Before I know where I am an evil thought has popped into my head. For instance, how might I learn to think invisibly? I fight it off with everything I have—geometry, differential calculus, Old Slavonic verbs. I recite Lermontov's poem 'I walk out on the road,' four times running. But that filthy thought creeps back, and now there's another with it: how can I start another revolution? And at that point

it showed the German film "The Underdog" which portrays the rise of Nazism. Other films that will be shown during the season include a very great Japanese film "The Burmese Harp," the Finnish "The



Films reflect the society we live in. Alex Guinness plays a British spy in the current "Our Man in Havana."

Unknown Soldier," and two shorts which Alan Lovell wrote about recently "It's a Grand Life" and "Neighbours."

The Group meets every Sunday. Membership costs 5s. and can be obtained from Rod Prince, 74 Plaistow Lane, Bromley, Kent.

Self-defence, 1878

HOW can you guarantee that a controversial demonstration will remain peaceable and non-violent?

You can't—and that is a problem that has worried people for a long time.

Just before the 1958 Aldermaston march the Direct Action Committee's sub-com-

PEACE NEWS, January 15, 1960—5

OURSELVES AND THE CRIME WAVE



ALTHOUGH, as everyone knows, our English police are wonderful, the crime wave increases. Eighty more criminals have been rounded up, this time for disturbing the peace of the Harrington nuclear missile base.

As the policeman in Vicky's cartoon said to Mr. Butler: "We're still looking for two murderers, but we've arrested 80 dangerous pacifists, sir!"

This bold action may temporarily relieve the nation's anxiety, but it causes considerable inconvenience in London's criminal underworld. In Peace News office, for example, the staff, handicapped by the incarceration of the Editor and the Associate Editor, tend to be overworked.

Money will not lessen their labours, but it would at least encourage them to know that when the Editor sheds his shackles there would still be a paper for him to edit.

This assurance depends upon our readers. Our books will be kept open until January 31, by which date we have to meet a deficit of £2,500. Of this, £1,600 has been received. If, by a special effort of our contributors, the remaining £900 could be raised by the end of the month, it would be the best possible news to pass through the prison bars.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since January 1, 1960 : £406 6s. 7d.

Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £1,602 2s. 11d. Still needed: £898.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: 10s.; W.I., 10s.; Hounslow, 10s.; Hollywood, 2s. 6d.; OAP, 10s.; Warrington, 4s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1

that Mervyn Jones will soon be leaving the Tribune staff.

What difference all these changes will make to Tribune is hard to tell. For some years now it has become more and more irritating. It was partly a matter of tone—the revolution is always just around the corner. It was also its penchant for self

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The truth is that Civil Defence in Britain, and Civil Defense Mobilisation in the USA, are based upon an attempt to create an atmosphere of security where there is none, and are thereby concerned with conditioning the mind of the public to the idea of a nuclear war.

This "family room" in the USA, which can be used for playing games, also has "a basket for the cat"; moreover, it has "a first-aid kit and a book called "What to do until the Doctor Comes," which appears to assume that the doctor will be going on his daily round through the radio-active and contaminated air just as usual!

It is stated in the article that a family of four can be in this room for two weeks without any contact with the outside world; there is a fixed bicycle which provides the necessary exercise while it pumps in "filtered air."

What happens after the two weeks has expired, if the outside world is still contaminated, or the nuclear bombs still exploding, is not mentioned, and the fact that among the books and articles listed as necessary provisions is a 28-year calendar, seems to suggest a somewhat longer period of incarceration than two weeks!

The tragedy of all these fantastically unrealistic plans is the bitter waste of time, energy, materials and money. Nero, playing on his violin while Rome went up in flames, is a tremendously symbolic figure today, representing all these Civil Defence organisations and leading statesmen talking glibly of deterrents while stockpiling weapons which if used may destroy the human race. It is, indeed, pertinent to ask what the leaders of the nations are doing today, but closely imitating this nefarious Roman Emperor is his fatuous irresponsibility.

It is perfectly clear that the consequences of a nuclear war cannot in fact be met by fabulously expensive rooms where it may be possible to survive for a couple of weeks, but only by not having a war. The abolition of war is no longer to be regarded as an unrealistic, idealistic pacifist conception of Utopia, but, in fact, is the only moral and rational solution to the nuclear dilemma. "War, we say No," is the battle cry for Peace.

thoughts are innocent about drink, or women, or even about how to work for the good of the people. But all the time I'm simply itching with criminal thoughts. I turn and twist in my chair, I do problems in arithmetic to keep my mind busy.

"Nothing doing! Before I know where I am an evil thought has popped into my head. For instance, how might I learn to think invisibly? I fight it off with everything I have—geometry, differential calculus, Old Slavonic verbs. I recite Lermontov's poem 'I walk out on the road,' four times running. But that filthy thought creeps back, and now there's another with it: how can I start another revolution? And at that point they've got you.

"Good morning, citizen. What was that you were mulling over four minutes and 17 seconds ago? All is known to us. If you don't believe it, we'll show you the film."

If together with this story you put Pasternak's "Dr. Zhivago," the essay on socialist realism by a Soviet writer which appeared in Soviet Survey some months ago, and films like "The Cranes are Flying," you'll realise that something is happening in the Russian underground.

War movies

PEACE NEWS recently paid a great deal of attention to films. And rightly. If we are to have a real sense of what is happening in Britain, we should pay attention to the forces that are shaping our common values. Just because of its mass audience the cinema is one of the most important of these forces.

It used to be a fashionable attitude to think of the cinema as purely a means of entertainment, quite separate from society. Now more and more we are beginning to realise that the kind of film we see at our local cinema is often a direct reflection of the society we live in. So the war films that were such a big part of British film output during the nineteen fifties were a reflection of the British people's nostalgia for the certainties and excitement of the war as opposed to the uncertainties and drab anxieties of the cold war period.

Last week a film society which aims to show this connection between films and society came into existence. It is called the London Film Group, and its headquarters are the Library of the Partisan Coffee House in Carlyle St.

Appropriately enough it started its activities with a season of war films. Last week

Unknown Soldier," and two shorts which Alan Lovell wrote about recently "It's a Grand Life" and "Neighbours."

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Self-defence, 1878

HOW can you guarantee that a controversial demonstration will remain peaceable and non-violent?

You can't—and that is a problem that has worried people for a long time.

Just before the 1958 Aldermaston march the Direct Action Committee's sub-committee which was organising the march got worried on this score too. So it drafted a comprehensive leaflet as a non-violent discipline. Gene Sharp, who was then Assistant Editor of Peace News, was largely responsible for this, and it turned out to be most valuable.

A somewhat similar leaflet, dating from right back in 1878, was recently sent me by a correspondent. This historic document was headed: "Instructions for Peace Meeting in Hyde Park, February 24." At that time the current crisis concerned Russia, Turkey, Poland and Prime Minister Disraeli's Government (referred to throughout as "Dizzie and Co.").

The committee organising this Hyde Park demonstration planned to put peace to the vote, and arranged that anyone who wished could move an amendment, in order to maintain the rights of free meeting and free speech.

The leaflet then continued: "We entreat all friends and supporters that not a single hand shall be lifted, not a single blow shall be struck.

We've learned something since then: never strike a blow in self-defence, for that would be the end of a peace demonstration. No self-defence is practical politics.

A Foot shorter

I SEE that Michael Foot has resigned from the editorship of Tribune. He will, from now on, act as managing director, and will continue to contribute to the paper. He has given no reason for his resignation, but it is believed he wants to concentrate on getting back into Parliament. He also needs time to get on with a book he has just started.

His successor as editor will be Dick Clements, who has for some time dealt with industrial affairs for Tribune. I also hear

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Mervyn Jones will be Tribune's biggest loss. He has for a long time been the most sympathetic of the regular Tribune writers whose interests were wide enough to encompass the closing of pits in the Swansea valley and sit downs in front of the Swaffham rocket base.

Modest disclaimer

"I come here representing a nation that wants not an acre of another people's land; that seeks no control of another people's Government; that pursues no programme of expansion in commerce or politics, or power of any sort, at another people's expense. It is a nation ready to co-operate toward the achievement of mankind's deep eternal aspirations for peace and freedom."
—President Eisenhower, in an address to the Indian Parliament on December 10.

Who are the criminals?

SO the Harrington demonstrators weren't imprisoned after all.

One hopes that one of the reasons the magistrates conditionally discharged them was because they were impressed by the kind of action the 82 took at Harrington. But I would not be realistic if I didn't think that another reason was that the magistrates didn't want to overburden the British prison system, which has as many prisoners as it can possibly cope with already.

But whatever the reasons, the verdict has produced a crazy situation. Apparently if you give out leaflets to people urging them to break the law you are liable to two months in jail. But if you actually break the law you are discharged conditionally.

Like the man said it could only happen

—Phyz

WORLD REFUGEE YEAR 1959-60

Is there hope for that 40 million?

By John Pellow

The writer is a 27-year-old Minister in an East London Congregational Church. After three years in the Navy he entered theological college and completed his training at Bristol University and the London School of Economics.

I WATCHED tall, 19-year-old Fahid Mousa as he bent over a complicated piece of wireless mechanism. A smile of triumph broke on his face as, after a few preliminary crackles, some music came from the loudspeaker. He had repaired his first wireless.

He was on his way to becoming a skilled radio mechanic. He had been given training and hope. He was becoming a human being again.

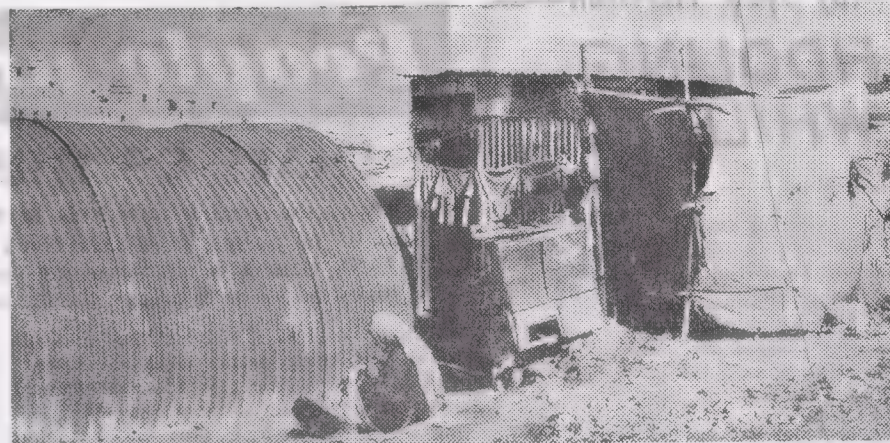
I was in Kalandia Vocational Training School for Arab Refugees just a few miles outside Jerusalem. It is one of two such training schools in the educational system set up by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. The other is in the desolate Gaza Strip. At Kalandia nearly 300 young Arabs are given a technical training. Like many others there, Fahid Mousa has a background of a refugee camp. He spent his 'teens in Jenin with 5,000 others. He would still be there if it had not been for Kalandia.

I spoke to John Davies, Director of UNRWA, about the Agency's educational plans. He hoped there might be an extension of this vocational training. This would be possible if there were enough money forthcoming from World Refugee Year. He wants desperately to open another school in Syria. There is a direct link through World Refugee Year between us and this school. How is the year going? What chance is there of another school in Syria?

The Lord Mayor's launching ceremony at the Mansion House attended by the leaders of the three political parties gave a good start to the year. Press, radio and TV gave it a sympathetic coverage ensuring adequate publicity for the beginnings of the British campaign. Then came the summer months and with it the World Refugee Year idea seemed to fade. Not before Field-Marshal Montgomery broke

I was invited to lead a group of journalists and a representative of the BBC in an experiment designed to find out, if possible, the stresses endured by a refugee. The idea was a sincere one and not just a gimmick. Once you have accepted the basic fiction that it was necessary to leave home at short notice never to return, there is no reason why some kind of physical hardship should not be endured.

The idea worked but not in the way we thought it might. We never learned anything about hardship. We were hungry and uncomfortable but we were there for only a short time. There is much that I would like to say about this when I have had more time to think about it. What happened was that having no material security we looked for it in one another. We sank down our roots into each other and became a closely knit group. We became the only



How the refugees live—a tattered make-shift home in Jabal Hussein Camp, Amman.

real people in the world. Anyway the exercise achieved its aim.

Perhaps one day I shall understand the forces that worked on us and just what it was that happened. I am convinced that the stories we wrote had the note of conviction which influenced the subsequent development of the Year.

From that time the publicity and news about refugees began to snowball. By the end of November £342,000 had been received in the central fund. In addition a sum of £50,000 had been received from HM Government as a first instalment of its promised contribution of £200,000. The constituent refugee agencies have also been greatly helped by the Year, but their incomes will not be known until the end of their financial years.

Christmas has brought increased donations, especially since it was then that Lady Churchill made her appeal. This has so far brought in £12,000. This money has come from 4,450 letters. It is estimated that there are another 13,000 to open, and they continue to arrive. This and other giving has brought the present total to £480,000. Almost halfway.

Hope for the rest of the year lies with the 700 local efforts throughout the country. The latest information is that 65 other countries have followed the UK's lead and plan to make special efforts in this Year.

I'm glad for Fahid Mousa's sake. I am glad for all the other Fahid Mousas, the Horsts, Erikas and Phu Changs. There are 40,000,000 refugees in the world and each one of them is a person.

AGAINST THE KU KLUX KLAN: VIOLENCE OR NON-VIOLENCE?

Letter from America by JIM PECK

A SIX-MONTH suspension from office imposed on Robert Williams, President of the Monroe (North Carolina) branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People by its parent body, expired recently.

But debate on the key question will go on for many years—wherever an oppressed group is struggling for emancipation and particularly in Africa where such a struggle is at present manifesting itself throughout the continent. The question is: In such a

national convention, at a public debate of Williams and his attorney versus two leading pacifists, in the pages of the monthly magazine "Liberation" and in the homes of concerned individuals.

When Williams issued his call for

and decided to remain on the streets rather than take refuge in their homes as they had done on such occasions in the past. As the parade approached, they would simply stand their ground non-violently and observe the scene calmly.

The reaction of the Klansmen proved to be one of confused embarrassment. When the parade reached the Negro section and the hooded men saw all the people standing watching them, they swiftly dispersed. The Klan march thus ended abruptly.

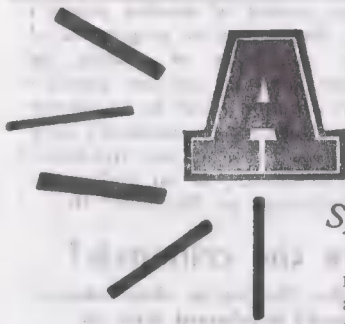
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Closely knit group

It was necessary at the beginning of the autumn months to place the refugee cause firmly before the public gaze. To do this the UK committee decided to take up the idea that I had tried in 1959's Christian Aid Week. This was to build a hut out of any waste material one could find—and live in it.

In October, the week after the election,

**ANSVAR** announce:
Special low-cost insurance for all abstainers
If you are wise enough not to drink you can now benefit financially by obtaining their insurance from Ansvär, who are able to offer very favourable rates because they restrict their policy holders to abstainers only.

To ANSVAR INSURANCE CO., LTD. (Dept. PN.3)
2 WHITE LION COURT, CORNHILL, E.C.3

I am an abstainer. Please send full particulars of your special Insurance benefits.

NAME
ADDRESS

For abstainers' insurance & all insurances—at all times A. M. PAY & CO.
(Insurance Brokers), 45 Bulwer Rd., E.11. LEY 8081.

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But debate on the key question will go on for many years—wherever an oppressed group is struggling for emancipation and particularly in Africa where such a struggle is at present manifesting itself throughout the continent. The question is: In such a freedom effort, should the oppressed group resort to violence or not?

The match which kindled the present debate in the US was lighted on May 5 when United Press International sent out a dispatch from Monroe quoting Williams as urging Negroes to "meet violence with violence." Subsequently, the press reported his suspension-from-office by NAACP.

But newspaper readers were never offered an opportunity to get in on the very significant discussions which ensued. These took place on the floor of the NAACP

national convention, at a public debate of Williams and his attorney versus two leading pacifists, in the pages of the monthly magazine "Liberation" and in the homes of concerned individuals.

When Williams issued his call for violence, he was not speaking as an arm-chair strategist, but from his first-hand experience in Monroe.

Here is how he tells it:

"In 1957 the Ku Klux Klan moved into Monroe and Union County. They became so brazen that mile-long motorcades started invading the Negro community. A Negro doctor was framed to jail on a charge of performing an abortion on a white woman. A crowd of white men started congregating around the jail.

"It is common knowledge that a lynching was averted. We have had the usual threats of the Klan here, but instead of cowering, we organised an armed guard and set up a defence force around the doctor's house. On one occasion we had to exchange gunfire with the Klan.

"Not having been infected by turn-the-other-cheekism, a group of Negroes who showed a willingness to fight caused city officials to deprive the Klan of its 'constitutional' rights after local papers told of dangerous incidents between Klansmen and armed Negroes.

The Monroe lesson

"Klan motorcades have been legally banned from the city of Monroe. The fact that any racial brutality may cause white blood to flow as well as Negro is lessening racial tension in Monroe. The white bigots are sparing Negroes from brutal attack, not because of a new sense of morality, but because Negroes have adopted a policy of meeting violence with violence."

The Negroes' handling of the Klan in Monroe is not the only way to deal with such a situation, however. I recall how, when the Klan planned to march in Montgomery during the 1956 anti-segregation bus boycott, the city's Negroes got together

and decided to remain on the streets rather than take refuge in their homes as they had done on such occasions in the past. As the parade approached, they would simply stand their ground non-violently and observe the scene calmly.

The reaction of the Klansmen proved to be one of confused embarrassment. When the parade reached the Negro section and the hooded men saw all the people standing watching them, they swiftly dispersed. The Klan march thus ended abruptly.

Returning to Monroe: suppose the Negroes' threat of violence had caused "white blood to flow as well as Negro," which might well have happened. If the local police had been unable to quell the outbreak, the state troopers would have been summoned. Had the conflict spread over a wide regional area, federal troops, with all their modern weapons of war, would have become involved. The Negroes inevitably would have been crushed and the cause of their freedom set back.

As Martin Luther King, Negro leader of non-violence, writes in his "Liberation" rebuttal to Williams: Aside from the moral wrongness of violence, resorting to armed conflict would "place Negroes as a minority in a position where they confront a far larger adversary than it is possible to defeat in this form of combat."

Approaching the question of alternatives to violence, King writes:

"Robert Williams would have us believe that there is no effective and practical alternative. He argues that we must be cringing and submissive or take up arms.

"There are other meaningful alternatives. The Negro people can organise socially to initiate many forms of struggle which can drive their enemies back without resort to futile and harmful violence. In the history of the movement for racial advancement, many creative forms have been developed—the mass boycott, sit-ins, refusal to pay fines and bail for unjust arrests, mass marches, mass meetings, prayer pilgrimages, etc."

In fairness to Williams it must be said that while he tends to confuse non-violence with "turn-the-other-cheekism," he has written:

"I think there is enough latitude in the struggle for Negro liberation for the

★ ON PAGE SEVEN

NIGERIAN ELECTIONS :

A token of progress

From JOHN FERGUSON

ALL elections are "momentous," but the General Election held in Nigeria on December 12 was more momentous than most, for it determined the Government which will lead the country into independence.

The three main parties represent not policies but regional interests; the NPC (Northern People's Congress) the north, the AG (action group) the West, the NCNC (National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroons) the east.

The country is sharply divided between the north (Moslem and feudal) and the south (Westernised); the south is sharply divided between the Yorubas in the west and the Ibos in the east.

The result of the election was to give the NPC a comfortable majority over each of the other parties, but not over both combined. This may be to the best interests of the country, as it will ensure that the north is not neglected, and that no section of the country dominates the rest. The Prime Minister, Mr. Balewa, is likely to retain office; it is not yet clear whether he will lead a minority Government or some sort of coalition.

The most exciting feature of the election was the absence of violence which has marred elections in the past. It is a good token of the progress Nigeria has made towards democratic independence.

Rocket base vigils

SIMULTANEOUS vigils outside rocket bases in the North and South of England are planned for the week-end of March 5-6.

Regional committees have been set up to implement this decision made by marchers on the recent Coast to Coast Youth March for nuclear disarmament.

Organiser of the march was Eric L. Green, 31 Lamb Hill Close, Sheffield 13.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

KENYA AND NYASALAND:

The Emergencies can't last now!

PEACE NEWS, January 15, 1960—7

I EXPECT to see liberal changes in Kenya and Nyasaland immediately. Indeed, it is likely that the seven-year-old state of emergency in Kenya will be lifted before this article is published, and the release of Dr. Banda and many of the detainees and the end of the emergency in Nyasaland will almost certainly follow later.

Kenneth Kaunda, the Northern Rhodesian leader, has already been freed. All this should have been done long ago, but the belated decisions of Governors and the Colonial Office are welcome nevertheless.

There can be no doubt about the reasons for the timing of these decisions at this particular moment. They are being made just before the Kenya constitutional conference and the first meetings of the Monckton Commission with the hope that they will encourage a little confidence among the African people and their representatives.

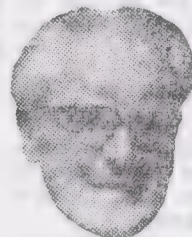
The major meed of praise should go to the African movements in Kenya and Nyasaland. Their strength and resolution have made Governors, Governments and the more enlightened European settler-leaders realise that something must be done to meet African distrust. Tom Mboya in Kenya and Orton Cherwa in Nyasaland, substituting for imprisoned Hastings Banda, should have the greatest credit for stirring the Colonial Office to action.

Recognition should also be given to the firm stand of the Opposition in Britain. It is no longer a matter of pressure back benchers like Barbara Castle (sometimes now on the Front Bench, John Stonehouse and Dingle Foot. The Front Bench of the Labour Party, as well as the Liberal Party, have become challenging and uncompromising on colonial issues.

Their refusal to join the ill-fated Monckton Commission has stimulated the Government to make gestures to demonstrate that they are not, after all, intractable die-hards. This has been facilitated by the substitution of Iain Macleod for Lennox-Boyd as Colonial Secretary.

Sweeping trend

In the background there is the sweeping trend throughout Africa. In this year of 1960, when two-thirds of the population of



By
**FENNER
BROCKWAY**
MP

irrespective of race, and will concur in an immediate substantial step towards it as evidence of their good faith, the talks may end successfully. The British Government would then no doubt feel justified in implementing such agreement, despite the opposition of the more recalcitrant Europeans.

The moderate Europeans will be the decisive factor. If they show that they are sincere in desiring a Kenya of racial equality, co-operation can come. If they shrink from this, theirs will be the responsibility for the failure of the conference.

I am afraid even this modified optimism is not justified in the case of Central Africa. Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the European-manned Federation, has made it clear that he won't accept at any price the right of the people of Nyasaland to accede, however unitedly they desire this. He has said that he would never have considered the Monckton Commission coming to Central Africa if its terms of reference had not accepted Federation as inviolable. To this forthright statement he has now added the claims which he will himself make on behalf of the dominant Europeans.

First, he will ask that the British Government shall have no veto over the acts of the Federation (at present London can intervene if the African Affairs Board reports racial discrimination). Second, he will ask for the abolition of the African

and people to assert Africa's new place in the world, to assist every African people to gain independence, and to extend the union of African States as they become independent so that, having gained political liberty, they may be strengthened to resist economic and military imperialism as well. Dr. Nkrumah's invitation to representatives of all the political movements of Africa to gather at Accra to consider practical steps for the furtherance of solidarity will prove to be of greater historical importance to Africa than all the visits of British statesmen or British Commissions.

Mr. Macmillan is journeying from good to bad in Africa—from the West to the South. The apartheid-minded Europeans in the Union should be under no illusions. The British Prime Minister may be regarded as honouring its Government by his visit, but the British people have never demonstrated so fully as they are now doing their abhorrence of the inhuman policy which that Government is applying to the African and all coloured people.

The Labour Party, the Liberal Party, the Trades Union Congress and innumerable local organisations are now preparing a massive boycott of South African goods during the month of March. I regret that the Co-operative Union has recommended Co-operative Societies not to participate, but many local societies have already done so. I am glad that the Co-operative Society in my constituency of Slough was one of the first to do so. The movement is now spreading to local authorities. The Liverpool City Council, one of the largest in Britain, has decided to buy no articles from South Africa.

Mr. Macmillan will not be representing Britain if he fails whilst he is in South Africa to express our repugnance to apartheid.

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Jim Peck ★ FROM
PAGE SIX

acceptance of diverse tactics and philosophies. There is need for pacifists and non-pacifists."

Rocket base vigils

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Shirley Wilemsky, the Prime Minister of the European-manned Federation, has made it clear that he won't accept at any price the right of the people of Nyasaland to accede, however unitedly they desire this. He has said that he would never have considered the Monckton Commission coming to Central Africa if its terms of reference had not accepted Federation as inviolable. To this forthright statement he has now added the claims which he will himself make on behalf of the dominant Europeans.

Their refusal to join the ill-fated Monckton Commission has stimulated the Government to make gestures to demonstrate that they are not, after all, intractable die-hards. This has been facilitated by the substitution of Iain Macleod for Lennox-Boyd as Colonial Secretary.

Sweeping trend

In the background there is the sweeping trend throughout Africa. In this year of 1960, when two-thirds of the population of the continent are to become independent, it is becoming impossible to maintain a hard-faced front in Kenya and Central Africa. The progressive changes foreshadowed in neighbouring Tanganyika and Uganda, the coming independence of Nigeria and of not-distant Somalis, and the splendid gestures of support from Ghana have made the unrelieved European domination of Kenya, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias politically impracticable.

As is the habit of governments, however, the Colonial Office has taken away as much as it has given. It has given powers to the administration in Kenya and Nyasaland to apply, without resort to the declaration of a State of Emergency, nearly all the drastic measures which so far have only been legal when normal law has been set aside. This had already been done in Northern Rhodesia. This was how the Governor could detain persons without trial, and exile them without any declaration of an emergency. Constitutionally this is a retrogressive step. It disfigures the normal regimes in these colonies by giving them the characteristics of police states.

The African cause—the cause of democracy, racial equality and self-determination—has far from won the day yet. We shall find at the coming Kenya constitutional conference in London determined resistance to Tom Mboya's claim for one electoral roll for all races, for immediate self-government, and for early independence. We shall find even stronger resistance in Central Africa to the claim of the African peoples of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias to the right of self-determination and racial equality.

It is just possible that agreement may come from the Kenya conference. If the Asian representatives and the more liberal-minded Europeans will accept the goal of full democracy, based on adult suffrage

the first to do so. The movement is now spreading to local authorities. The Liverpool City Council, one of the largest in Britain, has decided to buy no articles from South Africa.

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Jim Peck ★ FROM PAGE SIX

acceptance of diverse tactics and philosophies. There is need for pacifists and non-pacifists."

Actually, Williams' pro-violence viewpoint is shared, not only by Negro racist organisations but by countless individual Negroes who despair at the slowness in change of racial patterns. They feel that violence would magically hasten the process. They fail to realise that when freedom struggles erupt in violence, the ideals become lost in the ensuing bloodshed and the victor, on whichever side he may be, retaliates with ruthlessness.

First, he will ask that the British Government shall have no veto over the acts of the Federation (at present London can intervene if the African Affairs Board reports racial discrimination). Second, he will ask for the abolition of the African Affairs Board—the one safeguard of African rights.

We must face the fact frankly that with this attitude there is no possibility of settlement. The British Government will either have to repudiate the arrogant claims of Sir Roy Welensky or walk with open eyes into a situation where the African population—7,000,000 compared with 300,000 Europeans—will be non-co-operative and resistant. This has already been made clear by the decision of all the African political movements, including those which have been regarded as moderate, to boycott the Monckton Commission.

Independence or nothing

The release of Dr. Banda and other detainees in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias cannot alter this decision or the determination behind it. The Africans in Nyasaland have made up their minds that they will not participate in Federation, that they will have independence, and nothing will lead them to compromise on these issues. The Africans of the Rhodesias have made up their minds that they will no longer accept racial discrimination and segregation and that they must have the majority political rights based on racial equality to which they are entitled. Between these views and those of Sir Roy Welensky there can be no agreement.

Mr. Harold Macmillan must by now have learned this from his African journey. He learned it in West Africa before he reached Central Africa. I am writing before the reactions of the British Prime Minister's visit to Nigeria are known, but in Ghana they were remarkable. It was not Mr. Macmillan who captured world attention but Dr. Nkrumah.

The overriding impression left by the British Premier's stay in Ghana is the immovable determination of its Government

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The Harrington demonstration

'We must return'

MY immediate reaction to being conditionally discharged was the feeling of elation that I did not have to go to prison after all, coupled with the feeling of warmth to the authorities at Harrington and Northampton.

I then realised that all we had achieved by the demonstration was respectability; we had not achieved what we had set out to do, claiming the base even symbolically, for peaceful purposes. It was even admitted in the court that the police had nipped the demonstration in the bud and that therefore there was no point in imprisoning us. We are in exactly the same situation had the police picked us up and dumped us 15 miles out in the countryside—in those circumstances we would have returned immediately.

We therefore must return as soon as possible to the base and repeat the demonstration and go on repeating the demonstration until either the Government changes its policy or we are all imprisoned. We will obviously not be treated with the same kindness by the local authorities and the press, but this will demonstrate how impersonal have we to be to hammer home the urgency of the situation, and the seriousness of the situation.

We must return immediately to Harrington; we should not co-operate with the police on arrest but be carried off. We should not at our trial attempt to be acquitted but should attempt to vindicate our actions. We must go back soon.—**COLIN SMART, 9, Maldon Court, Bute Road, Wallington, Surrey.**

Enthusiasm and experiment

ALL the demonstrators at Harrington would agree, I think, that the demonstration was a success. We have aroused a great deal of sympathy and we are still free to enlist further support by handing on to our friends the enthusiasm we got from working together as a group.

The details of the plan of campaign were agreed on jointly and were carried out as planned. Thanks to the careful briefing arranged by the Committee before they went to prison, there was no violence or hint of violence, and relations with the police were cordial.

others to go any further. For most of us, like myself, it was the first time we had taken part in a radical protest, and however exhilarating our time in prison may have been it was also exhausting. Moreover, many of us had commitments which it would have been irresponsible to ignore.

Perhaps next time a more costly witness will be called for, but then our numbers may have swelled to such a size that the prisons of the land will not be able to contain us.—**JACK MONGAR, 22 Marriott Rd., Barnet, Herts.**

'A Quality of Seriousness'

AS one of those who took some part both in the demonstration at Swaffham (first day) and in that at Harrington, I would like to comment on Alan Lovell's article in Peace News of January 8.

He is right in pointing out that we have still a lot to learn in the manner as well as the spirit of our demonstrations. His suggestion that silence on the part of the supporting party would be more in keeping with the spirit of our demonstration seems good to me, though I confess that their cheers, as we made our way to the Black Maria on the way to prison, were decidedly heartening to us.

But it seems to me that his suggestion that we ought to have suddenly laid ourselves down when arrested standing or sitting in our tents, would merely serve to give the police extra work to do, and would not have added to the forcefulness of our demonstration. In Swaffham the main risk we were taking was in being run over, so the lying down position in front of the lorries was part of it. In Harrington the only risk lay in being sent to prison, a quite different risk. To have laid ourselves down after our arrest would not have been appropriate, and so would not have been dramatic. Our actions should be such as to express the spirit of our endeavour.

LETTERS

Having been arrested, our next step was to show good will to the individual policemen who arrested us. I feel sure we should be on our guard against going out of our way merely to give them extra trouble.

Having been arrested, our next step was to show good will to the individual policemen who arrested us. I feel sure we should be on our guard against going out of our way merely to give them extra trouble.

rington on January 2 will be arrested and probably sent to prison.

Many of us who spent a short period in Birmingham prison agreed that Peace News could do a useful service to potential "inmates" by giving a brief account of what to expect.

For instance, the women could have known beforehand that had they a skirt with them, instead of or as well as slacks, they would have been saved the indignity of wearing an ill-fitting, cold prison garb. Other items of information that would have been valuable were:

1. That telegrams, any amount of letters, cigarettes, chocolate and newspapers may be sent to a prisoner on remand.

2. That remand prisoners may be visited by as many as three people for a period of 15 minutes each day.

3. That any prisoner who wanted anything at Birmingham Prison—e.g., a fresh handkerchief, paper for writing a second letter, an appointment with a doctor, etc.—must ask the Warder the moment his cell is opened in the morning (quite a feat when one doesn't realise where one is on waking).

It has been said that in prison the first two days are the worst. If a prison sentence, for any offence, is a deterrent (and I don't believe it is) two days might have more impact than six months.

Six of the Harrington women joined the "front line" at the last minute (Direct Action is contagious!) and such prisoners are bound to have anxieties about their families and occupations.

For me, the hardship of prison lay in the sudden shock of being cut off from all normal means of communication, and although preferential treatment would not forward our cause, I see no reason why demonstrators should not know, and take the advantages, of every remand prisoner.—**SYLVIA COX, 4a The Old House, Fulford, York.**

More letters, page nine.

BBC broadcasts

MRS. V. L. PANDIT, Indian High Commissioner in Britain and sister

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MEETINGS

NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR WESTERN GERMANY—Emergency Conference at Denison House, Victoria, London, S.W.1, at 2.30 p.m., January 23. Speakers include Joyce Butler, MP, and Leslie Hale, MP. Members of the Labour Party and affiliated organisations welcome. Tickets 1s. each from Denis Brian, Labour Peace Fellowship, 24a Breakspere Road, London, S.E.4.

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Enthusiasm and experiment

ALL the demonstrators at Harrington would agree, I think, that the demonstration was a success. We have aroused a great deal of sympathy and we are still free to enlist further support by handing on to our friends the enthusiasm we got from working together as a group.

The details of the plan of campaign were agreed on jointly and were carried out as planned. Thanks to the careful briefing arranged by the Committee before they went to prison, there was on violence or hint of violence, and relations with the police were cordial.

I am sorry that Alan Lovell, in last week's Peace News, criticises our active and friendly co-operation with the police. Surely we should be proud of such a relationship. I see no reason why our radical form of protest should ever antagonise the authorities as people, even though as police and prison officers they have to restrain us. Are we not people of peace out to demonstrate a better way?

Another criticism of the Demonstration was that it was not dramatic enough. Perhaps. There is room for a great deal of thinking and experiment here. Admittedly, we leant over backwards to avoid "incidents." In the circumstances, with our experienced leaders of the original Committee already in jail, this I think was right for us who followed on, even though it meant less publicity.

Finally, there is the question of whether we should have returned to Harrington after our discharge. It would have been wrong, I think, for the more enthusiastic of us to have exerted any pressure on

giving the police extra work to do, and would not have added to the forcefulness of our demonstration. In Swaffham the main risk we were taking was in being run over, so the lying down position in front of the lorries was part of it. In Harrington the only risk lay in being sent to prison, a quite different risk. To have laid ourselves down after our arrest would not have been appropriate, and so would not have been dramatic. Our actions should be such as to express the spirit of our endeavour.

Having been arrested, our next step was to show good will to the individual policemen who arrested us. I feel sure we should be on our guard against going out of our way merely to give them extra trouble. Such a deed would be enacting an attitude which was not ours and so would be wrong in this case. I believe that both at Swaffham and at Harrington we did the appropriate thing, however imperfectly.

It is the spirit in which these things are done that really matters, and when that is right, the drama has a chance of being right too. Don't you agree, Alan Lovell?

Also, incidentally, variety is the spice of demonstrations. We do not want to repeat the same action if we can avoid it.—**DOROTHY GLAISTER, Ipsden, Oxon.**

Alan Lovell will reply next week [Ed.].

Prison conditions

IN the next Direct Action demonstration supporters other than the 82 at Har-

ving families and occupations. For me, the hardship of prison lay in the sudden shock of being cut off from all normal means of communication, and although preferential treatment would not forward our cause, I see no reason why demonstrators should not know, and take the advantages, of every remand prisoner.—**SYLVIA COX, 4a The Old House, Fulford, York.**

More letters, page nine.

BBC broadcasts

MRS. V. L. PANDIT, Indian High Commissioner in Britain and sister of Prime Minister Nehru, will be interviewed on BBC radio next Wednesday, January 20.

She will be answering personal questions about her life in the series "Frankly Speaking" on the Home Service at 10 p.m.

Mrs. Pandit first encountered Gandhi, she says, when she was about 17, and at once responded to his cause by throwing some of her gold bangles into his fund-raising collection. She reached her late twenties before taking part on the fringes of "the Movement," and at 32, with three young daughters, underwent the first of her three political prison sentences.

After World War II she led the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly and was the Assembly's President in 1953-54.



1. Send notices to arrive first post Monday.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, January 15

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. 58 Archfield Rd., Cotham. Publicity Preparation, etc. PPU.

Saturday, January 16

IPSWICH: 2.45 p.m. 27 The Avenue, Trimley St. Mary. Mtg. Speaker: Mr. G. Rattenbury. Felixstowe PPU.

LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Hunter St. AGM of North-West Area PPU.

Sunday, January 17

BATH: 3 p.m. YMCA Bldg., Broad St. "Can Freedom be Defended?" Hilda von Klenze. PPU.

Monday, January 18

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. Grand Hotel, Broad St., 1. Public Mtg. "Speaking Peace in the USA": Hilda von Klenze. PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. & 1.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public Adm.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Group Business Mtg., AGM nominations, motions. Refreshments. Central London PPU.

MANCHESTER: 3: 10.30 a.m. Assembly Room, Blackfriars Ho., Parsonage. Local Tribunal for COs. Public Adm.

Wednesday, January 20

LEIGH-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Donald Drive. Discussion on Direct Action. PPU.

LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Fore St. Simon Zukas (MCF) speaking on Africa. PPU.

Thursday, January 21

ALTON: 7.45 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Group AGM. PPU.

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Mechanics' Institute. Film show. Adm. Is. CND.

LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Hunter St. AGM of Liverpool Central PPU. Nominations & resolutions to NC. PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. 23 Kenmare Gdns. (buses to Ulster Gdns., N. Circular Rd.). "Total Disarmament Proposals": Stuart Morris. PPU.

Saturday, January 23

NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY: 10 a.m. "Educating for Peace" Conference for Midlands Peace Organisations. Speakers: Dr. J. H. Fremlin, Francis Jude. Lectures, discussion, questions. Details: Martin Harvey, Pacifist Soc., University Pk., Nottingham. CND.

Sunday, January 24

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross. Pacifist Universalist Service. "Pacifism not Passive-ism." Discourse: Ronald Lightowler. PPU Religion Commission.

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Tuesday, January 26

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

Friday, January 29

ALTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho. Youth Mtg. Speaker to be announced. YCND.

LONDON, E.C.2: 12.30 & 1.30 p.m. St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate. "Islam & World Affairs": Abdul Majid. Adm. Free. NPC.

Saturday, January 30

IPSWICH: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Fonnereau Rd. Current Problems & Future Activities. Tea. PPU & For.

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MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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A Study of some
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J. Allen Skinner

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

'The Invisible Man'

SOME time ago the Labour Peace Fellowship, of which we are members, wrote to the ITA protesting against the propaganda contained in "The Invisible Man" series.

We received a reply from the deputy director which admitted a good deal of the charges made but attempted to justify it. We hoped that the series would be less objectionable in future. But recent programmes in the series show that it is going on with the same ideas as before.

We have made the following points to the ITA as strongly as possible. The fate of mankind depends on the co-existence of East and West. All over the world men and women are making big efforts to improve these relations and so avoid the third world war.

We had thought that ITA would use this tremendously powerful medium in this direction—and in many ways it does so. Therefore it is particularly regrettable that on Saturday evenings at a peak viewing time ABC should be week after week producing films in which the Russians are depicted in the most hostile way. Because the propaganda is in fictional form it is no less effective. The whole effect of this series must be to lead to enmity rather than friendship. Looked at objectively, the purpose is nothing less than war propaganda.

We have already drawn the ITA's attention to the theme of four of the programmes we have seen. The latest—which is the reason for this letter—appeared on the Saturday before Christmas, no doubt as the producer's contribution to the season of goodwill. It showed a gang engaged in planting nuclear bombs in England. They were burying them in other cities throughout the world but not, it was stated, in Moscow or Warsaw. Their accomplice was an English lord who, we were told, was playing a prominent part in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. While innocent himself, he was a simpleton, easily deluded by the saboteurs. Not for the first time, "The Invisible Man" series goes out of its way to smear those in Britain who are trying to prevent the H-bomb race.

Much of the damage has already been done. But as there are 39 in this series, some of them still to come, we have asked them to omit any of the remaining films

sinful world" situations may arise in which "the Christian ethic is irrelevant and cannot be applied," claim they are justified in adopting the non-pacifist attitude and giving their sanction and support to war.

The spirit of Christ was not manifested in a perfect, but in an imperfect and exceedingly sinful world. His teaching, in its essence, is not given for an ideal, perfect world, but for a world where evil abounds, and is His method for overcoming and taking away that evil.

Many of the precepts of Christ would not be wanted in a perfect, sinless world. You could not "turn the other cheek to the smiter" in such a world, for none would ever smite you there, all would be friends. You could not forgive those that trespass against you, for none would ever trespass against you.

To maintain that "the Christian ethic" is only relevant and applicable in a perfect, sinless world is to make sheer nonsense of the teaching and spirit of Christ, and nonsense of the plea that on this ground we are justified, as His followers, in sanctioning and supporting the manifest sin and wickedness of war.—(Rev.) EDWIN FOLEY, 33 Warrior Square, Southend-on-Sea, Essex.

'China and India'

IN Commentary (PN, January 1) Bruce Odspar, without refuting any of the statements in my letter the previous week, combines assertion, interpretation, opinion, and speculation (but very little fact) about China in such a way that to reply fully would take a great deal of space. I should, however, like to make a few comments.

1. He still uses the word "purge" lightly, in a way unworthy of a serious writer in a serious paper.
2. I do not doubt the sincerity of the Chinese leaders, and Bruce Odspar is right in saying that they are consistent Marxist-Leninists. This, however, means something very different from the interpretation he chooses to put on it. What he calls "the subjugation of Tibet," for instance, the Chinese regard as the suppression of a revolt (inspired and actively assisted from outside) of Tibet's mediæval feudal rulers, and the liberation from bondage of the ordinary people; I believe history will show that this

peoples but also to world peace." Reports from Delhi suggest that Indian opinion is now also coming round to the point of view here expressed by the Chinese Prime Minister, with which I hope Bruce Odspar will be in sympathy.—DEREK BRYAN, 85 Holden Road, London, N.12.

'Confused thinking'

TO imply that the rocket sites now being built in Britain are the equivalent of Hitler's gas chambers (Editor's appeal, Jan. 1) is to state that everyone involved in their erection or maintenance is deliberately and knowingly assisting in the perpetration of evil.

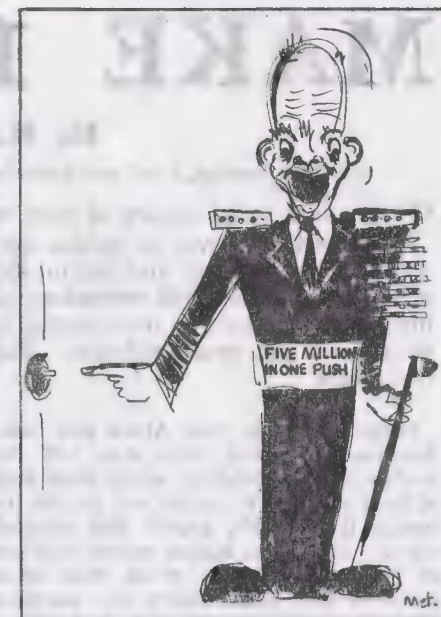
To say that the police at Harrington acted in the same way as the men who were hanged at Nuremberg (Christopher Farley's report, Jan. 8) is to deny that they could possibly be doing their duty with a clear conscience. Such a denial of another person's integrity is, to my mind, far more violent than to resist arrest or to boo the police.

War and war preparations still hold a very special place in mankind's code of morals. However illogical it may seem to the pacifist, they are not only lawful but are regarded as perfectly ethical by a vast number of people who cannot otherwise be accused of evil or immoral intentions.

The wholesale extermination of a defenceless minority within a nation, on the other hand, although it may be made "lawful" by a depraved group in power, is not regarded as anything but immoral, and a Government indulging in such slaughter as one which has forfeited any claim to the loyalty of its citizens.

While it may be true that as pacifists we are in a position comparable to that of anyone in Hitler Germany who had recognised that the Government was evil and therefore wished to offer resistance, we should not allow confused thinking to tempt us into assuming that every non-pacifist is a reincarnation of Hitler and persists in his evil ways in the full knowledge that they are evil.

We must certainly strive for a change in the double morality which at present prevails in regard to war, but we shall not accelerate that process by taking it for granted that we are opposed by a bunch of criminals.—HILDA VON KLENZE, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



mind of wielding immeasurable power. We can only judge men by their fruits.

We are certainly "opposed by a bunch of criminals" if this phrase means those who break the moral law. If "criminal" is used solely in relation to the law of the land, however, this is surely not the point. War resisters are not unduly concerned about what is technically legal or what isn't, because they don't share the moral values of those who make and adapt the laws.

Hugh Brock is in prison and consequently unable to amplify his own brief remarks.

'Alien culture'

WHAT right has Roy Sherwood (PN, January 8) to blame the Jews for refusing to be assimilated? Why should they be absorbed into our society if they don't want to? What is wrong with "the existence of an alien culture within the community?" What have we got to be so proud about anyway?—NICOLAS WALTER, 83 Belsize Park Gardens, London, N.W.3.

HENRY J. CADBURY STEPS DOWN

DR. HENRY J. CADBURY, a founder of the American Friends' Service Committee and one of its first workers, stepped down last Saturday as chairman of the corporation and the board of directors.

producer's contribution to the season goodwill. It showed a gang engaged in planting nuclear bombs in England. They were burying them in other cities throughout the world but not, it was stated, in Moscow or Warsaw. Their accomplice was an English lord who, we were told, was playing a prominent part in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. While innocent himself, he was a simpleton, easily deluded by the saboteurs. Not for the first time, "The Invisible Man" series goes out of its way to smear those in Britain who are trying to prevent the H-bomb race.

Much of the damage has already been done. But as there are 39 in this series, some of them still to come, we have asked them to omit any of the remaining films which have a similar theme. We understand the series was made with an eye on the American market. This may explain the Invisible Man's American accent and the constant cold war propaganda. We believe that at least on British screens the films containing the latter ingredient should be discontinued.—**FRANK ALLAUN, STAN AWBERY, FENNER BROCKWAY, JOYCE BUTLER, GEORGE CRADDOCK, ERNEST FERNYHOUGH, LESLIE HALE, LAURIE PAVITT, House of Commons, London, S.W.1.**

Quakers in Parliament

THE case which Robert Davis puts forward (PN, January 8) in defence of certain Quakers is absolutely untenable.

These Quakers subscribe to the declaration that "all war is inconsistent with the spirit and teaching of Christ" and then, on the plea that "in this very imperfect and

1. He still uses the word "purge" lightly, in a way unworthy of a serious writer in a serious paper.
2. I do *not* doubt the sincerity of the Chinese leaders, and Bruce Odspur is right in saying that they are consistent Marxist-Leninists. This, however, means something very different from the interpretation he chooses to put on it. What he calls "the subjugation of Tibet," for instance, the Chinese regard as the suppression of a revolt (inspired and actively assisted from outside) of Tibet's mediaeval feudal rulers, and the liberation from bondage of the ordinary people; I believe history will show that this view is correct.
3. Whether the new orders in India and Pakistan are proving more humane than the new order in China is a question that can perhaps best be answered by examining the condition of the vast majority in each of these countries, i.e., the peasantry. On this subject Professor René Dumont's comparison of India and China (New Statesman, December 19, 1959) and the October 1959 issue of Pakistan Today are illuminating.

In his letter of December 17 asking for an early meeting with Mr. Nehru, Mr. Chou En-lai said: "Both our countries are still very backward economically and culturally. We urgently need to engross ourselves in long-term peaceful construction at home so as to free ourselves step by step from the present state of backwardness," and he concluded: "The speedy holding of talks between the two Prime Ministers is our unshirkable responsibility not only to our two

While it may be true that as pacifists we are in a position comparable to that of anyone in Hitler Germany who had recognised that the Government was evil and therefore wished to offer resistance, we should not allow confused thinking to tempt us into assuming that every non-pacifist is a reincarnation of Hitler and persists in his evil ways in the full knowledge that they are evil.

We must certainly strive for a change in the double morality which at present prevails in regard to war, but we shall not accelerate that process by taking it for granted that we are opposed by a bunch of criminals.—**HILDA VON KLENZE, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.**

Christopher Farley writes: Some of the police who arrested missile-base demonstrators at Harrington probably *did* have a clear conscience. Most, no doubt, had not thought much about their orders to protect the machinery of annihilation. And this is what they are doing. In fact, the wholesale extermination of a nation has been made "lawful" (as present policies come to fruition) by the group in power in Britain today. Has not this Government also "forfeited any claim to the loyalty of its citizens"?

I am not sure that everyone who carried out Hitler's orders was personally convinced in conscience that the policies were evil. Nor am I sure that whereas Hitler's gang were "depraved" the present nuclear rulers are quite normal. When we consider the policies they relentlessly pursue, can we state with certainty that these leaders are not psychopaths? I can't. Surely we don't know enough about the effects on man's

they be absorbed into our society if they don't want to? What is wrong with "the existence of an alien culture within the community?" What have we got to be so proud about anyway?—**NICOLAS WALTER, 83 Belsize Park Gardens, London, N.W.3.**

HENRY J. CADBURY STEPS DOWN

DR. HENRY J. CADBURY, a founder of the American Friends' Service Committee and one of its first workers, stepped down last Saturday as chairman of the corporation and the board of directors.

He will continue to serve the Committee as honorary chairman. Having succeeded the late Rufus Jones, he had been chairman for 25 years. The Committee was founded in 1917.

Dr. Cadbury is Hollis Professor of Divinity Emeritus of Harvard University. He was one of the scholars who prepared the new Revised Standard Version of the Bible and is a Quaker historian.

Harold Evans of Philadelphia was elected chairman of the AFSC corporation.

The AFSC's headquarters are at 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Brighton protest march

JAMES CAMERON, News Chronicle feature writer, with his wife and family took part in the Brighton Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's march last Saturday in support of the Harrington demonstration and in protest against the French H-tests.

Bill Owen, the TV and film actor, and Vernon Beste, the author and playwright, were also among the 150 or so people who took part in the three-mile march through Brighton's busiest shopping streets at the peak of the weekly shopping period.

Following the march James Cameron and Bill Owen addressed an obviously sympathetic public meeting.

BBC broadcasts

"THE Shadow of the Swastika," a first-hand report on the resurgence of antisemitism in Germany, will be broadcast next Tuesday on the BBC's Home Service at 8 p.m.

PROTEST against nuclear madness



TESTS, BOMBS, BASES

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Dr. DONALD SOPER**

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MAKE 1963 'FREE THE WORLD

By B. R. Sen

[Director General, Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations.]

THE entire social history of man, whether Eastern or Western, points to the fact that there was no golden age when the entire population of the world was free from hunger and malnutrition. Today, in spite of all the spectacular advances in science and technology, and progress in international co-operation that have opened up incalculable opportunities for human betterment, the situation is not much different. Relatively few areas of the world are free from want.

Large regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, comprising more than half the world's total population, suffer from lack of food adequate in quality and quantity to sustain their health, growth and physical vigour. This is the biggest human problem of the century, beside which most other problems that today absorb our attention and energy are really trivial and of temporary significance.

Comparisons of national and international vital statistics show how great are the contrasts in living between the prosperous and the poverty-stricken countries, and between well-fed and ill-fed people. The expectations of life, for instance, in Britain is 68 years compared to only 32 in India (1950 averages). In terms of calory and protein intake, the gap is equally wide.

These statistics however do not tell the entire story and have to be reduced to human terms in order to reveal the suffering and tragedy that they conceal. Hidden hunger, which is another name for malnutrition, is a close and constant companion of poverty, both individual and national. It leads to impaired vigour and lowered vitality and thus to idle hands, to higher mortality rates among infants and expectant mothers, to deficiency diseases and tuberculosis, and to much suffering which is preventable but not prevented.

Those who have witnessed, as I have done, the scores of emaciated children, prematurely ageing mothers and idle youth in various parts of the world, will comprehend the true measure of the human tragedy that can be traced directly to poverty and malnutrition.

Obviously the answer to such a vast and world-wide problem cannot be simple. It has to be attacked at all levels simultaneously—aiming at increased food production and purchasing power, at expansion of overall economic activity, at spread of education regarding nutrition, at removal of restrictions against international trade in food, and at the general welfare of rural communities. These objectives cannot be pursued either by individuals or nations acting singly. A sharing of resources and acquired skills is an essential pre-requisite for any co-ordinated approach to possible solutions of the problem.

A bold step

About 15 years ago a big step was taken to deal with the problem of hunger when the United Nations decided to set up the Food and Agriculture Organisation. It was a bold step and a farsighted one. The area of knowledge about the many facts of this problem has expanded as a result of FAO's activities during the last 15 years. We know more about the technical, economic and social aspects of the problem of hunger today than at any time in the past. But knowledge itself is not enough; it must lead to action if the desired ends are to be achieved.

A special urgency for dealing with this problem arises from what has been described as the population "explosion." The world population today is about 2,700,000,000, and is increasing at the average rate of 1.6 per cent per annum. If this rate is maintained the world's population will be about 5,000,000,000 at the turn of the century. The really disturbing feature of the situation is the relatively slow tempo of economic development in those regions where food deficiencies are most pronounced.

tion of food is limited as much by lack of purchasing power as by scarcity. The world is unable to move into consumption—with its present trade and economic arrangements—the food it is capable of producing in even larger quantities. This dilemma of hunger and surpluses is one of the most baffling paradoxes of our time. The Food and Agriculture Organisation has, from its very inception, attempted to find a world-wide solution to this paradox, but so far without success.

New food areas

I have just said that the technical possibilities of production are far in excess of what the world is now producing. We may for a moment consider what are the technical possibilities for increasing food production. It is often thought that the area of roughly one billion hectares or about 10 per cent of the land surface of the globe which is under cultivation today more or less marks the limit of the lands which are suitable for cultivation. This is far from being the case.

Fairly full use of the available arable land exists only in the temperate regions of the northern hemisphere and among the tropical countries in Asia. The possibilities of bringing under cultivation the vast areas in the wet belt of tropical rain-forest lying across the Equator, principally in Africa and Latin America, are still a matter of controversy. But, as the well-known American soils specialist, Dr. Kellogg, has pointed out, the utilisation for cultivation of 20 per cent of the unused tropical soils would add one billion acres, that is another 40 per cent, to the cultivated land.

In the densely settled lands of Asia there may not be much possibility of increasing the area under cultivation but where irrigation is possible, as it is throughout most of the densely settled river valleys which carry a great part of the population of this region, two or even three crops a year could be grown where generally only one is grown now. For example, a recent FAO study of the lower Ganges-Brahmaputra basin where 130,000,000 people live has shown that the number of acres cultivated per annum could be doubled if full use were made of water which is at present

by pests and diseases could each make major contributions.

Some idea of the net result of all these possibilities may be obtained if we contrast the situation in Japan, where the average farmer makes rather full use of existing scientific knowledge, with India where most peasants are only beginning to become acquainted with these possibilities. The production per hectare of arable land in Japan is approximately six times as high in India.

It is true that Japan has a very great advantage in that practically all the crop land can be irrigated, but it is also true that India and the other countries of southern and south-east Asia have a great advantage in their warm climate which is favourable to crop growth right round the year. In the very large areas of south-east Asia which could be brought under perennial irrigation, it may well be that a combination of scientific farming practices, assured water supply and a year-round growing season could result in an output per hectare which would exceed that in Japan.

The potentialities are equally great in respect of livestock products. The output per head of cattle in terms of meat, milk and draught power is around five times as great in Europe as in the Far East or Africa, three or four times as high as in the Near East and two or three times as high as in Latin America. Improvement and good management of pastures will also make it possible to increase greatly the number of livestock carried in most regions.

Livestock products

Even in the United States the carrying capacity has been placed at about two and a half times the present livestock population and the potential increase in Latin America would certainly not be lower. If we take into account both the potential feed base for higher livestock populations and the scope for increased production per animal, one can conclude that the resource and technical base exists for a level of

□ ON PAGE ELEVEN

It leads to impaired vigour and lowered vitality and thus to idle hands, to higher mortality rates among infants and expectant mothers, to deficiency diseases and tuberculosis, and to much suffering which is preventable but not prevented.

Those who have witnessed, as I have done, the scores of emaciated children, prematurely ageing mothers and idle youth in various parts of the world, will comprehend the true measure of the human tragedy that can be traced directly to poverty and malnutrition.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

Public Meeting
at
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Friday, January 22

7.30 p.m.

Chairman:
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Speakers:
Tom Driberg, MP
Revd. Stanley Evans
Fr. John Groser

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knowledge itself is not enough; it must lead to action if the desired ends are to be achieved.

A special urgency for dealing with this problem arises from what has been described as the population "explosion." The world population today is about 2,700,000,000, and is increasing at the average rate of 1.6 per cent per annum. If this rate is maintained the world's population will be about 5,000,000,000 at the turn of the century. The really disturbing feature of the situation is the relatively slow tempo of economic development in those regions where food deficiencies are most pronounced.

Yet it must be obvious that there is no absolute standard for the optimum growth of population. In the United States, for example, which is undoubtedly the most well-fed country in the world, the rate of population growth is 1.8 per cent per annum (1953-56 average), which is higher than that, say, in India. Yet, *per capita*, productivity in the United States is so much higher that the growth of population causes no concern, while the increase of 1.3 per cent in India causes considerable alarm because of the low national productivity.

Population growth

It will be seen, therefore, that although the rate of growth of population can be an important factor of poverty in an economically static society, it need not necessarily be accompanied by a lowering of living standards if productivity can keep pace with the growth of population.

Since World War II, population in many parts of the world, both in highly developed and less developed regions, has been increasing much more rapidly than previously. There has also been a striking increase in food production which has just about kept pace with the growth of population. Even so, in several regions the *per capita* production is still below the pre-war average, notably in South-East Asia and Latin America, while the largest increases in food production have generally taken place in the most highly developed regions, such as North America and Western Europe, resulting in accumulation of food surpluses.

The technical possibilities of food production are clearly far in excess of what the world is now producing, but consump-

of 20 per cent of the unused fertile soils would add one billion acres, that is another 40 per cent, to the cultivated land.

In the densely settled lands of Asia there may not be much possibility of increasing the area under cultivation but where irrigation is possible, as it is throughout most of the densely settled river valleys which carry a great part of the population of this region, two or even three crops a year could be grown where generally only one is grown now. For example, a recent FAO study of the lower Ganges-Brahmaputra basin where 130,000,000 people live has shown that the number of acres cultivated per annum could be doubled if full use were made of water which is at present mainly running to waste, quite apart from the possibilities of increasing yields.

Stepping-up yields

Very considerable potentialities for expanding the area under cultivation also exist in the well-watered temperate lands of the southern hemisphere, such as Southern Australia and Uruguay and Southern Brazil. It has been estimated that about 160,000,000 in Southern Australia could be brought acres of well-watered reasonably level land under a system of mixed farming compared with about 40,000,000 acres now under cultivation. It is also probable that there exist large land reserves which will one day be used beyond the present zone of cultivation in the north, principally in Canada and the USSR.

The scope for increasing crop yields, if present day knowledge were applied, is even greater than the scope for increasing the area under cultivation. Even in regions with fairly good rainfall, supplemental irrigation, the possibilities of which are only beginning to be realised, usually brings an appreciable increase in production. Then there is the question of fertilizers. Taking the world as a whole, we have only begun to use the potentialities inherent in chemical fertilizers.

To give you one example, Asia, other than Japan and her former territories, which has almost as great an area under cultivation as Europe and North America together, uses only about 500,000 tons compared with about 15,000,000 tons in Europe and North America. The breeding of improved varieties, the use of better equipment, and the prevention of losses caused

number of livestock carried at about two and

Livestock products

Even in the United States the carrying capacity has been placed at about two and a half times the present livestock population and the potential increase in Latin America would certainly not be lower. If we take into account both the potential feed base for higher livestock populations and the scope for increased production per animal, one can conclude that the resource and technical base exists for a level of

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FROM HUNGER ' YEAR

PEACE NEWS, January 15, 1960—11

□ FROM PAGE TEN

production of livestock products not less than five times the present world output.

There is therefore little doubt that technically the horizons of potential food production are still distant and perhaps more distant than they have ever been, because of the rapid increase in knowledge. This should be, however, a cause for hope—a justification for effort—not a cause for satisfaction with our current rate of progress.

A sustained and satisfactory rate of progress will certainly require the allocation of appreciably greater resources for the education of peoples, for research, for physical investment and for international leadership and co-ordination than the nations of the world are at present making. It will also require a greater willingness to move towards the institutional changes which would provide a more generally favourable climate for productive investment and the application of technology.

Focus on hunger

The conclusion is that though the future cannot be foreseen it lies within our control. We cannot justifiably plead poverty of our natural and scientific heritage.

This is the general background of my proposal to launch a world-wide campaign to focus attention on the problems of hunger and want. Because of the all-embracing and comprehensive nature of the campaign as it took shape in my mind, I put forward my proposal first to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in the summer of 1958.

I proposed a tentative programme of action including a combined factual, educational and information effort carefully designed to arouse world-wide appreciation and understanding of the problem and rally support for the measures necessary to deal with it. I suggested that 1963 be designated "Free-the-World-from-Hunger" Year in order to allow sufficient time for the programme of action to be brought to completion and give the Year a commemorative significance as it would coincide with the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hot Springs Conference which led to the establishment of FAO.

The response of the Economic and Social

and training in skills leading to more rapid action. The important part that WHO could play is also readily seen. The relation between food and the improvement of health and prevention of disease is part of the concern of WHO, and in any food consumption survey which will be necessary for this campaign, WHO's co-operation will be an important factor.

Furthermore, the level of earning and employment and the social conditions of the workers and their families are basic to the ability of employees, who form an increasing proportion of the world's population, to buy food they need. Consequently, through its interest in social security, labour conditions, co-operative organisation and related subjects, ILO will have an important contribution to make to the conduct of this campaign. This by no means exhausts the scope of participation of international agencies and affiliated bodies whose contribution will be required to make the campaigns meaningful.

I should like here to refer briefly to some basic elements of the programme which were originally proposed and constitute the common denominator of agreement amongst the participating bodies. It is only natural that the leading role in stimulating, servicing and sustaining the campaign must be assumed by FAO, for it is FAO which has been, during the last fifteen years, the spearhead of similar campaigns against hunger and malnutrition and has accumulated a store of knowledge and experience in the technical, economic and social aspects of the problem.

Work of experts

Under the roof of FAO, the technical expert, the economist and the welfare scientist have been working together to find long-term solutions. They recognise that there are no universal panaceas or ready-made formulas to be offered.

The technician is helping to increase the production of food by bringing new land under cultivation, by increasing soil fertility through application of manures and fertilizers, by checking erosion, by planning afforestation, by rationalising the use of land and water resources, by controlling pests, by fighting plant and animal diseases, by improving fishing techniques, and so on.

At the next stage of the campaign, it is our intention that the studies and reports by international agencies would provide the broad framework of information and supply the basis for work and discussion within the countries. National governmental and research agencies might develop further factual studies which would fill in gaps and provide a more detailed picture of the situation, and also might examine a report on the possibilities and costs of improving action programmes.

Food Congress

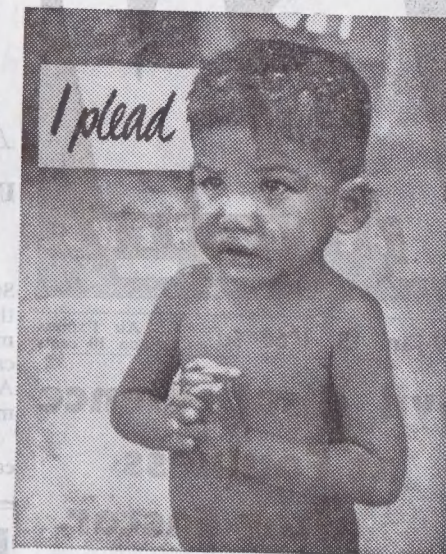
International and national non-governmental organisations might do much of the detailed work of stimulating popular discussion at these levels, in co-operation with the corresponding governmental agencies concerned. Through such action, stimulation to participate would be transmitted to subsidiary and associated bodies, organs, associations, educational institutions, and public information media, and findings and recommendations could be collected and collated for later discussion.

Such a campaign of mounting intensity could culminate in a World Food Congress in 1963, which would examine the nature of the problem of freeing the world from hunger, appraise the measures being taken to deal with it, and recommend the steps needed to take more adequate action. The findings of such a Congress should provide the starting point for policy consideration by national and international authorities. Action programmes can then follow as a result of determinations made by the governing organs of such authorities in the light of the findings of the Congress.

Most of the steps and actions that will need to be taken no doubt will be found to be steps by national governments of the less-developed countries, such as to improve the productivity of their workers, to encourage and facilitate agricultural and economic development, to improve their own administrative, educational and other governmental services, and in other ways to stimulate and aid their own people to more effective and energetic action.

More services

At the same time it will be necessary to augment the services now provided by inter-



"Relatively few areas of the world are free from want". Photo: the back cover of the War on Want International Exhibition brochure.

The Sack in South Africa

By PETER SINCLAIR

AN interesting tit-bit of fashion news arrived in this country from the sunny land of Kraal and picturesque Bantu village recently.

It is this: the Sack has arrived in South Africa! And, wait for it girls, it's the men who are wearing it!

When the Sack was a *la mode* in Great Britain women queued up to pay £10 or £20 a time to the fashion moguls, but here in the land of apartheid (I'm not quite sure of that word's meaning, but I think it can be translated "partnership") the men are provided with the Sack free of charge by their benevolent farmer employers.

How does one qualify to benefit from this fine example of white philanthropy? Well, let us take a not very hypothetical situation. A black-skinned African is walking down the street. He may be going to work, he may be returning home to his family.

He observes a police officer approaching. The African tries to avoid the cop—the cop

I proposed a tentative programme of action including a combined factual, educational and information effort carefully designed to arouse world-wide appreciation and understanding of the problem and rally support for the measures necessary to deal with it. I suggested that 1963 be designated "Free-the-World-from-Hunger" Year in order to allow sufficient time for the programme of action to be brought to completion and give the Year a commemorative significance as it would coincide with the Twentieth Anniversary of the Hot Springs Conference which led to the establishment of FAO.

The response of the Economic and Social Council to my proposal was most encouraging, and the FAO Council, at their last session in Rome, approved the project in principle and authorised me to proceed with detailed planning in consultation with member governments, United Nations, and international agencies concerned.

Poverty—the cause

It is perhaps necessary at this stage to amplify the role of other international organisations and agencies in the promotion and articulation of the campaign. The fundamental cause of hunger is poverty, and the basic answer to this problem is more rapid economic development in the less developed parts of the world. Food surpluses have been caused because the ability of the more highly developed countries to expand food production for commercial sale has outrun their own requirements, and because of the inability of people in other regions to pay for as much food as they need.

For this reason, the activities of the United Nations in promoting economic and industrial development have a vital bearing on the situation. Again, the success of any such campaign must largely depend on general and technical education to meet manpower needs. Illiterate men cannot understand or apply complicated production methods, and highly trained and experienced men are needed as technicians supervisors and administrators, before any country can effectively carry through programmes of agricultural and industrial development. Improvement in methods and procedures in scientific research, as in dealing with arid lands, is needed in agricultural fields.

UNESCO would thus have a vital field to cover in stimulating increased awareness

Under the roof of FAO, the technical expert, the economist and the welfare scientist have been working together to find long-term solutions. They recognise that there are no universal panaceas or ready-made formulas to be offered.

The technician is helping to increase the production of food by bringing new land under cultivation, by increasing soil fertility through application of manures and fertilizers, by checking erosion, by planning afforestation, by rationalising the use of land and water resources, by controlling pests, by fighting plant and animal diseases, by improving fishing techniques, and so on.

The economist is constantly analysing the causes of imbalance between production and consumption, impediments against a more rational distribution of the total product, tariff and currency restrictions against international trade and, finally, the paradoxes between plenty and want.

The social engineer is concerned with the psychological aspects of welfare and reminds us that the central figure in the whole drama is man, and that his environment and his sense of values have to be continually improved if mankind is to benefit from better techniques and sounder economics.

The task for FAO

In view of FAO's special competence in the fields just mentioned, I suggested that FAO could furnish the point of departure in this campaign by undertaking a résumé of available information and data, and issue

1. A Third World Food Survey, giving an up-to-date appraisal of food and nutrition round the world and emphasising existing gaps in facts which need to be filled.
2. A summary of known technical possibilities for increasing food production, and
3. An appraisal of the difficulties in the distribution of farm products, including international trade problems, surpluses, and the state of efforts to improve distribution by national and international action. It was hoped that other international organisations could prepare parallel background documents on the phases of the problem with which they would be concerned.

Most of the steps and actions that will need to be taken no doubt will be found to be steps by national governments of the less-developed countries, such as to improve the productivity of their workers, to encourage and facilitate agricultural and economic development, to improve their own administrative, educational and other governmental services, and in other ways to stimulate and aid their own people to more effective and energetic action.

More services

At the same time it will be necessary to augment the services now provided by international agencies to advise and aid the less developed countries in such efforts. The quantum and form of such additional services will depend on the specific needs of the countries concerned and the available resources. It is also our expectation that enlightened policies within the richer and more fortunate countries will result in an increased flow of economic aid to underdeveloped countries in order to lend support to their own efforts.

I hope I have been able to present a rough outline of the "Free-the-World-from-Hunger" Campaign as conceived at present. The Council of FAO has appointed an *ad hoc* governmental committee to help me in drawing up detailed plans, and we have received encouraging response from the United Nations and from our sister specialised agencies such as UNESCO, WHO and ILO. It is obvious that a lot of preparatory work has to be completed before the campaign is officially launched.

World attention today is engrossed, among other things, with the race for the moon. Eternal striving to extend the bounds of knowledge is of course what distinguishes man from the rest of creation. I presume, however, that we are conscious that our striving into space will be better sustained if at the same time we secure our base which is the *homo sapiens*, his development to his fullest moral and intellectual stature which is impossible without proper physical nourishment.—From a speech delivered in Rome last year.

NEW YORK AREA—U.S.A.—C.O. SERVICE METROPOLITAN BOARD FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS has maintained Free Consultation Service since 1940. Telephone MAIN 5-1195 for appointment. Or, write: 80 Pierpont Street, Brooklyn, 1, N.Y.

Britain women queued up to pay £10 or £20 a time to the fashion moguls, but here in the land of apartheid (I'm not quite sure of that word's meaning, but I think it can be translated "partnership") the men are provided with the Sack free of charge by their benevolent farmer employers.

How does one qualify to benefit from this fine example of white philanthropy? Well, let us take a not very hypothetical situation. A black-skinned African is walking down the street. He may be going to work, he may be returning home to his family.

He observes a police officer approaching. The African tries to avoid the cop—the cop will not be avoided.

"Pass, John."

"I'm afraid I've left it at home, sir."

"OK, come with me, John."

"But I can get it for you in ten minutes, sir."

"Just come with me, John."

The African boy doesn't move. The copper gives a push. The African remembers about non-violence and accompanies the officer to the police station. His name is taken.

Six months in jail or six months voluntary farm work. "It's as simple as that, John," says the officer in charge.

John volunteers for farm work but asks if he can inform his family first.

"No time for that, John."

He is pushed into a cattle truck with seven or eight other criminals. They arrive at the farm. He is made to strip and the Bossboy hands him a free, pure jute, sack. There is a hole for the head and two holes for the arms. The Bossboy laughs and expresses the hope that the bloodstains will wear out in time.

The booklet containing this information, rather unsavoury in parts but interesting for the fashion news, is well illustrated with African models wearing the Sack and costs 2s. post-free from The New Age, 6, Barrack Street, Cape Town, South Africa. It is called (and don't let the title put you off) "The Farm Labour Scandal," by Ruth First.

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Civil disobedience at Foulness after Easter

NO immediate return to the missile base at Harrington is planned by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

Following the civil disobedience actions there on January 2 it was found that the great majority of the demonstrators were psychologically unprepared to undertake another action after being released unexpectedly from prison on Wednesday of last week.

The Committee is drawing the attention of all its supporters to a civil disobedience campaign at the Foulness atomic weapons establishment near Southend-on-Sea.

This project, organised by some local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament supporters, will start on April 23—the weekend after the Easter Aldermaston march.

LARGE NUMBERS

Planning started last summer and leaflets have already been distributed in the area. The strategy will be to block the sole entrance to Foulness Island, which has been taken over by the military.

The police were informed of this demonstration during the protest march to the Establishment from Southend last November 7.

The Direct Action Committee is hoping that with adequate time for preparations this demonstration will be supported by large numbers.

A long march across London is planned

COMPLETE MOBILISATION

AT NO TIME IN HISTORY HAS THERE BEEN SUCH ABSOLUTE MOBILISATION. H-BOMB FLIGHTS CONTINUE ROUND THE CLOCK, MISSILES ARE BEING PERFECTED AND INSTALLED, FURTHER IMPROVEMENTS ARE PROMISED.

No standing army ever brought a country this near to the brink of war.

President Eisenhower revealed in his State of the Union message on January 8 that the Atlas inter-continental ballistic missile has been perfected. The first missile capable of hitting Russia from bases inside American can, he said, hit within two miles of its target.

The Guardian's Air Correspondent recalled the next day that the fireball of a

nuclear weapon may, in the words of the British Government, "be as much as three to four miles across!"

Next will come the Titan nuclear missile, and then—in 1962 or 1963—the Minuteman and Polaris H-bomb missiles, fired from underground and submarine respectively.

The new Russian plan to fire heavy rockets into the Pacific also indicates the power of Soviet means of destruction.

The Russian missiles will fall into a part of the Pacific 4,000 miles off the China mainland.

Last week, also, a start was made in transferring to Britain the US nuclear weapons which General de Gaulle refused to have on French soil.

12,000 Hiroshimas

According to the Daily Express of January 6, these further 100 nuclear bombs, which will be stored at Lakenheath, Suffolk, bring the number of American nuclear weapons in Britain to

"at least 500—H-bombs, tactical atom bombs, and rocket warheads. Total destructive power equals at least 12,000 Hiroshima blasts."

The weapons, with their numbers, said the Express, are at: Wethersfield, Essex (100), Lakenheath (100), Bentwaters and Woodbridge, Suffolk (100), and Sculthorpe, Norfolk (50). At least 50 are at Greenham Common, near Newbury; Fairford, Glos.; and Brize Norton and Upper Heyford, Oxfordshire.

A further 50 H-bombs are in reserve for RAF bombers, and at least 60 H-bomb warheads are at the Thor missile sites.

German pilots will go to America next month to be trained in A-bomb warfare. They will learn to fly the F104 Starfighters, of which 500 have been ordered for the Luftwaffe.

8,000 miles

Sahara team buys new equipment

THE Sahara protest team, which was recently arrested by the French Police in the Upper Volta and driven back into Ghana territory, is at present considering its future plans.

The group is trying to reach the French nuclear testing grounds near Reggan, in the Sahara, in order to make a peaceful protest.

The team had hoped to make another attempt to get into the test area through Nigeria, but lack of funds may prevent this. It has already had to buy a new vehicle and equipment as the French have refused to return the team's vehicles and equipment from Po, the small Upper Volta town where the team were surrounded by armed policemen.

A statement from Michael Randle, one of the team's members, and Mr. E. C. Quaye, chairman of the Ghana Council against Nuclear Weapons, denouncing Mr. Macmillan's claim, made during his Ghana tour, that the French test would have no harmful effects, was widely publicised.

Esther Peter reports from France that the Le Monde published a long letter from her, and articles about the protest team have appeared in France Observateur, Le Canard Enchaîné and others.

The "Federation Francaise contre L'Arme-nement Atomique" has sent a letter to Foreign Minister Couve de Murville asking him to grant the team visas. The Federation collected 500 signatories of prominent people appealing to de Gaulle.

Vigil to study techniques of non-violence



Ian Dixon, who became secretary of the Direct Action Committee when its original leaders were jailed. Former Peace News staff member, he conducted the briefing meetings for demonstrators.

'Conditional discharge' for Direct Action's 82

LARGE NUMBERS

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The police were informed of this demonstration during the protest march to the Establishment from Southend last November 7.

The Direct Action Committee is hoping that with adequate time for preparations this demonstration will be supported by large numbers.

A long march across London is planned by the Committee for Saturday, February 13. This is the day that the original six leaders of the Committee are expected to be released from prison.

The march, which will be in solidarity with their resistance, will be from Brixton to Holloway jails—the two prisons in which the leaders are being held.

Last week-end both prisons were picketed by supporters of the Committee.

The six men and women "inside" have asked Peace News to pass on their thanks to the hundreds of people who sent them Christmas greetings and cards last month.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

Tomorrow (Saturday) one of the men in Brixton—J. Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of Peace News—will celebrate his seventieth birthday. He has had a lifetime in key positions in the British pacifist movement, and spent over a year in jail in World War I.

Greetings cards may be sent to him. They should be addressed to 10,697, J. Allen Skinner, Brixton Prison, Brixton Hill, London, S.W.2. No messages should be included—only the sender's name and address.

Until February 13 the Direct Action Committee consists of Ian Dixon (secretary), Biddy Youngday, and Anthony Weaver. Its address is: 344 Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4 (STAmford Hill 7062).

The Committee reports one addition to the list of names published in PN last week of those remanded in prison following the Harrington demonstration. He is the Rev. Anthony Bird.

● A film of the Harrington demonstration is available for hire from the Nuclear Disarmament Newsreel Committee, 154 Corby Street, London, N.4 (ARChway 7200).



Ian Dixon, who became secretary of the Direct Action Committee when its original leaders were jailed. Former Peace News staff member, he conducted the briefing meetings for demonstrators.

'Conditional discharge' for Direct Action's 82

THE 82 Direct Action demonstrators arrested outside Harrington rocket base on January 2 went free from the County Hall, Northampton, on January 6, having been "conditionally discharged."

The magistrates took this course after defending counsel (Mr. Greville Janner) had told them that the great majority of the accused would not consent to enter into a signed undertaking not to repeat the acts for which they had been arrested.

The decision means that, although the 82 had pleaded guilty to obstructing the police in the course of their duty, a conviction was not recorded against them; but that if their offence were to be repeated last week's case would be taken into consideration.

See letters p. 8

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(100), Lakenham (100), and Sculthorpe and Woodbridge, Suffolk (100), and Sculthorpe, Norfolk (50). At least 50 are at Greenham Common, near Newbury; Fairford, Glos.; and Brize Norton and Upper Heyford, Oxfordshire.

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8,000 miles

In a report from Washington in The Observer last Sunday Philip Deane wrote:

"All sources in Washington, even White House sources, now admit that the Russians have an inter-continental ballistic missile that can carry a warhead of five or more megatons 8,000 to 9,000 miles."

It is accepted, he continued, that "the Russians will have either 200 or 300 ICBMs ready to launch by the end of the year. If Russia launched a surprise attack one year from now, between 112 and 168 of her ICBMs are expected to reach their targets. By the end of the year, the United States is planning to have 60 operational Atlas missiles. A total production of 160 is planned. They carry a five-megaton warhead 5,500 miles and hit within two miles of the target."

Philip Deane gave the number of intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Europe as: 40 in Britain already installed (1,500-mile-range Thors), 10 to go to Turkey and 20 to Italy.

BOYCOTT STARTS MARCH 1

Peace News Reporter

THE one month's intensive boycott of South African goods in Britain will take place from March 1—31.

The boycott is a protest against apartheid and racial discrimination; the Treason Trials; the ghettos of the Group Areas Act; and poverty wages for Africans.

Final details of the boycott were announced at a press conference in London on Tuesday.

There will be a delegate conference on Sunday, Jan. 17, at Denison House,

her, and articles about the protest team have appeared in France Observateur, Le Canard Enchaîné and others.

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Vigil to study techniques of non-violence

"A DETAILED study of the nature and techniques of non-violence" is planned for the coming weeks by the American war-resisters organising the appeal and vigil at Fort Detrick, Maryland.

They have maintained the vigil at this germ warfare centre since last July 1.

Lawrence Scott of the vigil committee reports that he now hopes to be able to give more time to general promotion and public speaking in the area.

Last summer a group of professors at Andover Newton Theological Seminary sent a letter of support to the vigil. Subsequently a car load from there went to participate at Fort Detrick.

Now a group of 13 professors from the Boston University School of Theology, Massachusetts, have sent a message to "support and encourage the witness" of the demonstrators.

The address of the vigil is: Appeal and Vigil at Fort Detrick, 324 West Patrick Street, Frederick, Maryland.

London, starting at 2.30 p.m. Father Trevor Huddleston will preside and the speakers will include Lord Altrincham, Anthony Wedgwood Benn and Harry Knight. In the second session of the conference, campaign plans will be discussed.

On Sunday, Feb. 28, a rally will be held in Trafalgar Square.

Campaign committees have been set up in Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Newcastle, Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

All enquiries about the boycott should go to the Organising Secretary, 293, New King's Road, London, S.W.6 (REN 3050).